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THE MUSEUM
of
FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES
(Östasiatiska Samlingarna)
STOCKHOLM



Bulletin N:o 21

Stockholm 1949

69

THE MUSEUM
of
FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES
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SOME BRONZES IN THE MUSEUM OF FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

In our Bulletin No. 20, 1948, a paper appeared called *Bronzes in the Hellström Collection*, in which an account was given of the most important items among the bronzes collected by the late Mr. Anders Hellström and in 1947 acquired by the Museum. The said article described some 40 vessels and 80 small bronzes of various kinds. It has been deemed suitable to publish, as a companion article to that paper, a brief description of some other bronzes belonging to the Museum, so as to place on record all the more important specimens in this collection at the disposal of students of Chinese archaeology. The number of small bronzes in our store — weapons, chariot fittings, dress-hooks, appliquéés etc. — being, however, considerable, it has not seemed advisable to crowd all these various branches of the bronze art together into one article, and the present paper is therefore limited to bronze vessels and bells. A certain number of these objects have already been reproduced in earlier Bulletins, but it was deemed most practical to republish them here with fuller descriptions, in order to present a complete series. The bronze vessels and bells in our collection are of highly varying quality: some of them are quite modest and of little artistic value, though still interesting from an archaeological point of view; a few only are first-rank specimens, on a level with the treasures in American collections like the Pillsbury collection in Minneapolis or those in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D. C., the Art Institute of Chicago, the Fogg Museum in Cambridge, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the W. R. Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City, and the Metropolitan Museum in New York. As such eminent specimens of a high standard we could signalize, in the paper in Bulletin 20, the Kuei in Pl. 1, the Li in Pl. 4: 2, the Hu in Pl. 26: 1, the Ting in Pl. 29 and the tiger (Ting lid ornament) in Pl. 35; and in the present article the Kia in Pl. 9, the Hu in Pl. 16, the Ting with supporting animals in Pl. 5: 1, the Hu in Pl. 29, the great Bell in Pl. 36 and the Bell in Pl. 34. Most of the bronzes, however, both in vol. 20 and in the present article, are fine and attractive specimens, a few only being of really mediocre or poor quality.

Pl. 1 (K. 11004: 159). Square Ting. Divided into 8 panels through stout flanges with alternating 1- and T-shaped scores. There is no segmenting in the flange, corresponding to the division of the body into a principal surface and a neck belt. In the former, the



Fig. 1.

flange forms the central ridge in a T'aot'ie face, the monster having its double body elongated («dragonized T'aot'ie»), so that the C-shaped mouth-lines come very far apart, and likewise the standing C-shaped horns are quite far from the hooked forehead shield. The leg, with a foot having a turned-up claw, has a very long and elaborate fetlock, and both

on this and on the raised and spiral-curving tail there are the traditional embellishing tufts. In the neck belt, two consecutive beaked dragons in one panel are antithetical to two in the next. All this décor is in fairly high, rounded relief on a ground of squared spirals. On the legs there are hanging blades and bands at the top with C-shaped spirals in incised lines. — Yin or Early Chou, A style. Inscription on the inside below the rim: *Yu* (a wine vessel), *fu Kuei* «to Father Kuei». Height (to top of handles) 24.4 cm. Black, glossy patina. The vessel earlier belonged to Lo Chen-yü. Published in Meng wei, *sü pien* p. 3, also in BMFEA 8, pl. 1.

Pl. 2: 1 (K. 12087: 4). Ting. This is an unusual specimen. It is, on the whole, rare to find the belly of a Ting covered with compound lozenges and spikes (these are common particularly on Kuei), but the present specimen is remarkable in that the «spikes» are not raised but only indicated by a circle. I know of only two parallels to this, a Ting in Ye chung III, shang 11, found in An-yang, and a Ting in Yen k'u, shang 6. In the neck belt there are consecutive deformed dragons, the beaked nose descending to the right, and the tail rising in a curl to the left, only the eye being still quite evident. In order to realize that it is really a dragon, we have to compare it with a dragon in a less advanced stage of corruption, Fig. 1. For the hind part of our dragon, cf. the dragon in Pl. 4 below. The relief is exceedingly low and flat all over, the lines in the principal décor being in the same plane as the now light-coloured lines in the spiral ground pattern, the shallow grooves being inlaid with some black resinous substance. — Yin, B style. Provenience: An-yang. Inscription on the inside below the rim: picture of a hand wielding a stick and driving a walking animal. Height (to top of handles) 19.5 cm. Patina: dark-green, the lines of the lozenges jade-white. Published BMFEA 8, Pl. 32.

Pl. 2: 2 (K. 11090: 167). Ting. This Ting has an unusually broad neck belt, filled with beaked dragons placed antithetically, flanking a rudimentary T'aot'ie mask (nose and hooked forehead shield). Below this belt there is a row of hanging blades filled with cicadas. The ground pattern consists of squared spirals in both places. Observe that the unscored flanges in the neck belt are three in number only (placed quite irrespective of the position of the handles) and so situated as to be just in the middle of the surface stretching from one leg to another. — Yin, A Style. Provenience: An-yang. Inscription inside, below the rim: a very common formula, consisting of *hiang* «sacrificial feast» and, below this, a drawing of some kind of store chest. The same inscription occurs e. g. Crown Prince Cat. p. 137. Height (to top of handles) 15.2 cm. Black patina.

Pl. 3. (K. 11276: 71). Ting. This large vessel is remarkable in several respects. First, the shape of the bowl is not even approximately hemispherical but very strongly broadened and flattened out. Secondly, it is not quite round in cross-section but slightly triangular, the corners being above the legs (Fig. 2). In the third place the feet have, at the bottom, hemispherical projections; such «hemispheres» in that position are, so far as my knowledge

goes, unique, but there can be not the slightest doubt about the authenticity of the vessel, its curious legs inclusive. — In the neck belt there are six unscored flanges, three just above the legs, and three in the middle of the surfaces between the legs. These latter form the central ridges in T'aot'ie faces. The T'aot'ie is of a well-known variety, with S-shaped mouth-line (showing a tooth) and a single quill on the back; it is flanked by vertical dragons, see Fig. 3. Below this belt, the body is adorned with big, broad, almost semi-circular blades, into which are fitted figures in high ridge-like relief, which are probably corruptions of antithetical dragons whose bodies meet at the point of the blade. All this décor of belt and belly is on a ground pattern of very thin-lined spirals. The legs are not the strictly cylindrical ones of the earliest period, but broaden out somewhat, in delicate curves, towards the bottom. On their upper part there are T'aot'ie heads with recumbent C-shaped horns and S-shaped mouth-lines. The flange in the centre of this T'aot'ie face has a pointed projection in the middle, as on many Early Chou bronzes. The handles have two grooves parallel with the outer contour; this is not visible in our photograph but is quite like the décor on the handles in Pl. 4: 1. The shape of the bowl, the flanges on the leg, and the shape of the leg all point to Chou time rather than Yin. — Early Chou, A style. Height (to top of handles) 38 cm. Red, brown and green patina. Published in BMFEA 6, Pl. 8.

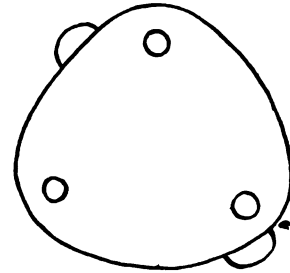


Fig. 2.

Pl. 4: 1 (K. 11002: 5). Ting. The shape of the bowl is not strictly hemispherical but slightly conical. In the neck belt there are three sections, each corresponding to the distance from one leg to another. In such a section there are two antithetical trunked and winged dragons, in flat relief on a ground of rounded spirals. Two trunked dragons normally combine to make up a T'aot'ie, but here they have been drawn far apart, and their independence is underlined by the fact that in the interstice between them there has been inserted a rudimentary T'aot'ie face (nose and hooked forehead shield). Observe that under the horizontal body of the dragon there are (apart from the trunk) 7 hooks. Of these, the first (nearest to the trunk) is really the C-shaped mouth-line, the second is the leg with foot having a turned-up claw; the remaining five being merely tufts of the same kind as on the upper side of this body. On the belly of the vessel there are remnants of a wrapping textile. The handles are adorned with two parallel grooves. The shape of the bowl points to Chou rather than Yin. — Early Chou. Height (to top of handles) 17.7 cm. Black and green patina. Published in BMFEA 9, Pl. 33.

Pl. 4: 2 (K. 11090: 168). Ting. This vessel has the same somewhat conical shape of the bowl as the preceding, and its décor is very instructive. Flanking the rudimentary

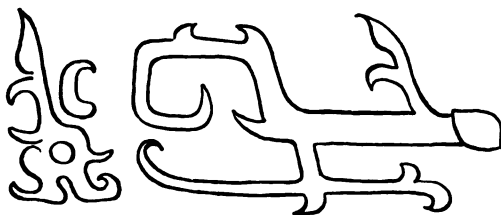


Fig. 3.

T'aot'ie face (nose and hooked forehead shield) in the neck belt there are dragon figures which are highly deformed but can still be satisfactorily traced. The white of the eye is exaggerated in front and extended into a downward hook (Cf. dragon eye in Pl. 5: 1). The beak descends in a big spiral and above the eye it merges directly into the long, curved body; beneath the eye the leg can be seen with its turned-up

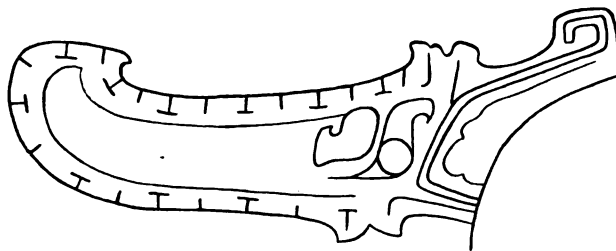


Fig. 4.

claw. This figure is important because it is one of the dragon varieties which are the origin of the figures in the «broad figured bands» of the Middle Chou style. — Declining Early Chou. Provenience: Lo-yang region. Height (to top of handles) 21.3 cm. Black, green and red patina.

Pl. 5: 1 (K. 12087: 12). Ting. This vessel has three animals supporting the bowl, viz. three gaping dragons, the rolled-up nose turned outwards, the short lower jaw being far in, beneath the bowl. The body goes in a sweeping curve, with the tail-end pointing upwards and outwards. Along the back there is a band with a row of alternating 1- and T-shaped scores, such as are usual on flanges. The white of the eye is exaggerated into a hook (cf. the dragon eye in Pl. 4: 2), and just behind it is a somewhat distorted bottle horn, see Fig. 4. In the neck band there are consecutive cicadas. All grooves are filled-in with some bright-red substance. — Yin, A style. Provenience: An-yang. Height (to top of handles) 26.4 cm. Green patina. Published in BMFEA 9, pl. 2.

Pl. 5: 2 (K. 11375). Ting. The general composition of this vessel is the same as that of the preceding, but whereas that vessel was softly elegant, the present one is stiff and austere. The supporting dragons have the body adorned with a row of scales. In the neck band there is barely a suggestion of a flange (a thin ridge of about 1 mm.) as median line in an animal triple band (i. e. an entirely dissolved dragonized T'aot'ie). — Yin, B style. Provenience: An-yang. Height (to top of handles) 27.5 cm. Thick, dark-green patina. Published: Ye chung I, shang 13.

Pl. 6: 1 (K. 11004: 160). Ting. This vessel is plain, except for two unobtrusive raised lines marking a neck belt, but it is very interesting on account of two points. On the one hand, it has the same slightly triangular shape, when seen from above, as the big Ting in Pl. 3 above. On the other hand, the handles are shaped like the twisted-rope handles on many Hien vessels, which is exceedingly rare on Ting vessels ((a parallel on a Ting in Chengsung, shang 15). — Early Chou. Inscription inside, below the rim: «Yu 右 has made the sacrificial Ting». Height (to top of handles) 21 cm. A wonderfully rich patina: brownish and dark-green ground, with big patches of light green and bright red. Published: Meng wei, shang 6.

Pl. 6: 2 (K. 12087: 7). Li-ting. This vessel has its foremost artistic merit in the excellently represented cicadas (with legs), on an elegantly varied spiral background, in the neck belt. But even more important is a most eccentric feature: the entire bow of the handle is adorned with a row of realistic cicadas in relief; the corrosion of the vessel has been very strong, but in spite of this the cicadas are clearly visible; see the detail. This is a quite unique feature. — Yin, A style. Provenience: An-yang. Height (to top of handles) 23.5 cm. Heavily incrustated, deep-green patina. Published: BMFEA 9, Pl. 8.

Pl. 7: 1 (K. 11357). Li-ting. On this vessel there is an exuberant décor. On each lobe of the body there is a highly dissolved T'aot'ie, the only well-preserved features being the protruding eyes and the C-shaped horns (or eyebrows?) above, with their alternating

1- and T-shaped scores (like flanges). But on closer inspection it is easy to discern the nose and hooked forehead shield and the C-shaped ears just beside the eyes, the C-shaped mouth-line just below the eye, the row of quills beside the horns, and the lifted, spiral tail (barely visible in our photograph, the end loop being beside and slightly lower than the quills). But in these parts the profuse spiral filling of all surfaces serves to reduce the contrast between the T'aot'ie and the spiral background so strongly that at a casual glance one gets the impression of a meaningless jumble of spirals all over the surface. In the neck belt there are consecutive dragons, which are likewise highly stylized: to the left we have the curled-up tail, to the right of the eye the long rolled-in beak, and below and in front of the beak the leg extended forward and raised. — Yin or Early Chou, B style. Inscription inside, below the rim: *kuo* »dagger-axe«. Height (to top of handles) 19.4 cm. Glossy, light-green patina. Damaged on the side (not visible in the photograph).

Pl. 7: 2 (K. 11004: 170). Li. This vessel, in all its simplicity, offers one very interesting feature. The centre of the neck belt is just ordinary: a tiny, unscored flange forms the median line of an »animal triple band«, i. e. a dissolved dragonized T'aot'ie; you can still discern, besides the eyes, the rolled nostrils and simplified forehead shield (at the top), the horn (like a T with the ends curled-in), beside this horn the long row of quills along the back, and finally the spiral of the raised tail end. But the remarkable part, indeed a quite unique feature, we find in the small panels which flank this dissolved T'aot'ie. They are only 2 cm. broad, and contain *inter alia* an eye and two quills placed horizontally. This last peculiarity reveals the idea: a T'aot'ie is often flanked by two vertical dragons; here we have two flanking, exceedingly corrupted and dissolved dragons, the vertical position of which, however, is suggested by the horizontally placed back-quills. — Yin or Early Chou, B style. Inscription inside, below the rim: Shī Ts'in 史秦 »the Scribe Ts'in«. Height (to top of handles) 19.3 cm. Published in BMFEA 9, Pl. 34.

Pl. 8: 1 (K. 11002: 3). Hien. This large and coarse steam-cooker, entirely undecorated but for three raised parallel lines marking a neck belt, has one interesting point: the line formed by the bottom from one leg to another closely resembles the finely arched curve of the Li-tripods in the Middle Chou style (see BMFEA 8, pl. 116), whereas most Hien with a Yin or Early Chou décor have a somewhat more angular point in the middle of that line. This may suggest a fairly late date, verging on Middle Chou. — Declining Early Chou(?). Height (to top of handles): 49.2 cm. Green patina. Weight 11.3 Kg.

Pl. 8: 2 (K. 12087: 5). Kia. This vessel has an interesting feature in the mode of execution of the figures in the two décor belts. In each case, between two circle bands there is a dragonized T'aot'ie, and the drawing of its body in several parallel bands and its embellishments fill up the space so completely as to leave no space whatever for a background. For a similar technique, likewise in a belt between two circle bands, on a Ting with supporting animals found in An-yang, see Ye chung III, shang 17. The legs are hollow and open at the back, but for a thin central beam. On the uprights there are whorl circles. — Yin, B style. Provenience: An-yang. Height (to top of uprights) 27.7 cm. Dark-green patina with light-green, almost whitish patches.

Pl. 9 (K. 12202). Kia. This large vessel has perfect proportions and an admirable profile. The head on top of the handle has a violently turned-up nose and big C-shaped horns made in narrow, parallel bands in different planes, the outermost having alternating 1- and T-shaped scores of the kind usual on flanges. In its lower two-thirds, the body of the vessel is divided into 6 panels through the handle and 5 flanges (with simple scores).



Fig. 5.

Every second such flange forms the central ridge in a T'aot'ie face. The figure (on a ground of squared spirals) is a dragonized T'aot'ie with big, standing C-shaped horns, 3 vertical quills on the back, and the C-shaped mouth-line drawn up unusually high at the sides. The T'aot'ie is flanked by vertical dragons (most clearly visible in the photograph close to the handle). On the neck there is a row of rising blades, filled with antithetical dragons, to be seen from above (with the photograph held inverted), with big somewhat deformed bottle horns, and with bodies that coalesce at the bottom (i. e. at the point of the blade); together they form a T'aot'ie. A quite analogous pair of dragons is found on the front sides of the legs, viewed together. The incrustations are here too heavy to allow of a good detail photograph, but the picture is essentially the same as on a Kia in the Art Institute of Chicago, the rubbing of which (after Umehara, *Seikwa* 1: 68) is our Fig. 5. On the uprights, there are blades with cicada-like spiral filling, and on the top surface whorl circles. — Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Height (to top of uprights) 49.6 cm. Green patina. Published: BMFEA 9, pl. 25.

Pl. 10: 1 (K. 11354). Tsüe. An ordinary specimen of the class, with a narrow belt with an animal triple band, and uprights with whorl circles. Yin or Early Chou, B style. Inscription under handle: *fu Ting* »to Father Ting». Height (to top of uprights) 22 cm. Green patina.

Pl. 10: 2 (K. 11035: 20). Tsüe. A vessel quite like the preceding, of mediocre quality. Yin or Early Chou, probably the latter. Inscription under handle: a dagger-axe, and *fu Sin* »to Father Sin». Provenience: Lo-yang region. Height (to top of uprights) 20 cm. Green patina.

Pl. 11 (K. 12282). Wine vessel in the shape of a double owl. The owls stand back to back and have coalesced, achieving a four-footed vessel. The short, sturdy legs end in clumsy feet with the claws summarily indicated in low relief. A broad flat spiral band marks the shoulder, and the wings are very simply drawn, the curved tail reaching but slightly farther than the wings. On top of the rings, which undoubtedly have held a bow handle, there are bovine animals' heads. The domed lid, which on either side represents the head of the owl with a turned-up beak, has a more interesting décor. The face is (see detail photo) much like that of a T'aot'ie. The eyes and ears are of a common type, and so are the big, pointed-C-shaped horns, the ends of which rise plastically from the surface. On the forehead there is the traditional lozenge, and above this a hooked forehead shield. Most interesting are the eyebrows, shaped like gaping dragons. It is not rare that the horns of a T'aot'ie are fashioned like a dragon or a snake, but I know of no parallel to the shape of the eyebrows in the present specimen. The knob of the lid is adorned with a row of vertically placed cicadas. — Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Height 23.2 cm. Green patina. Published: *Ye chung* III, shang 34.

Pl. 12: 1 (K. 11349). Wine vessel (»Yu«). »Yu« as name for this kind of vessel is purely conventional, not having actually been documented. — Though this specimen has no décor, except the raised lines demarcating belts on neck and lid, and free animals' heads effecting the traditional division into four panels, it is quite beautiful in proportions and profile. The ring-shaped top of the lid can serve as foot if the lid is inverted and used as a cup. — Yin or Early Chou. Inscription inside lid and bottom: drawing of a scorpion. Height to top of raised handle 27.7 cm. Glossy black patina.

Pl. 12: 2 (K. 11398). Ho. Except for a narrow spiral-filled band on the neck, this vessel has no décor at all. But it has a most graceful shape, and — in spite of the loss of the lid — is a fine example of a comparatively very rare type. For a similar specimen from the Imperial collection, see Exhibition London, Pl. 141; another example in Cheng ts'iu 49, and still another in Ill. Cat. Chin. Govt. Exh. I, p. 59 (with Yin inscription). — Yin or Early Chou. Height to top of raised handle 24 cm. All over the vessel a light-green, velvet-like patina of great beauty.

Pl. 13: 1 (K. 12087: 6). Slender wine beaker (so-called »Ku«). In this vessel the central part, which on bronzes of this class is mostly a more or less bulby section, is quite narrow, so that the profile in the long middle part is almost a severely straight line. Though this specimen is badly corroded, the two décor belts, on the foot and the central part, are sufficiently well preserved to show the details clearly. Each belt is bordered by circle bands. In the foot belt there are three consecutive elephants with open mouths and raised trunks, in a scene of fine movement. The ear flaps stand out plastically from the ground. In the upper belt there are ordinary T'aot'ie, with a very tiny flange as central ridge. This specimen is extremely unusual; I know of only one parallel, belonging to Mr. C. T. Loo. — Yin. Mixed style. Provenience: An-yang. Height 28.3 cm. Dark green patina, heavy incrustations.

Pl. 13: 2 (K. 12474). Slender wine beaker (so-called »Ku«). This vessel has the typical central bulb, which makes the profile softly undulating. In both décor belts, delimited by circle bands, there are dissolved T'aot'ie, which, though both have C-shaped mouth-line and S-shaped horns, are nevertheless somewhat unlike each other: the forehead shield is slightly different, and has a small flange as central ridge on the bulb, which has no counterpart on the foot. — Yin, B style. Provenience: An-yang. Height 24.6 cm. Light-green, whitish and blue patina.

Pl. 14: 1 (K. 11399). Stout wine beaker (so-called »Tsun«). This specimen, undecorated but for the free animal's head, has its principal interest in the heavy and squat shape, hereby attested as current in Yin time. — Yin. Provenience: An-yang. Height 18.2 cm. Green and red patina.

Pl. 14: 2 (K. 11400). Kuei. This big vessel is of fairly poor quality, but well preserved and a typical example of its class. The principal surface is covered with compound lozenges (filled with squared spirals) and spikes. Whereas Kuei with handles usually have their décor belts divided into four panels, our vessel here has them divided into three by their free animals' heads in the neck belt, and low flanges in the foot belt. In the latter, the flange is the central ridge in a rudimentary T'aot'ie face (nose and hooked forehead shield), which is flanked by very elongated beaked and winged dragons (one on each side, antithetical). In the neck belt, the free animal's head is flanked by small dragons of the same

type (two consecutive ones on each side). — Early Chou, B style. Inscription on the bottom of the inside: »Shu Pang-fu 叔邦父 has made the vessel, may sons and grandsons forever treasure and use it». Height 17.4 cm. Black, brown and green patina.

Pl. 15: 1 (K. 11004: 169). Lid of Kuei. This large lid, with a ring-shaped knob, which can serve as foot if the lid is inverted, has as its sole décor a bodied T'aot'ie in broad, rounded relief bands, and with no back-ground décor. The C-shaped mouth-line, the hooked forehead shield, the leg with fetlock and foot with claws, the raised tail with side-tuft are all very typical and orthodox. — Yin. Inscription: The so-called »ya» figure (probably to be read *ts'ung* and meaning »ancestral-temple object»), and inside this the common scene of a kneeling and sacrificing person, and further: *fu Sin* »to Father Sin», see Meng wei, Sü pien 10. Diam. 23 cm. Published: Meng wei, Sü pien 10; BMFEA 8, Pl. 27.

Pl. 15: 2 (K. 11035: 16). Kuei. A specimen very typical of its class. The two handles on the one hand, the free animal's head and the small flange on the other, divide the vessel into four parts. On top of the handles there are ram-like heads, at the bottom there is a projection with a hook turning outwards; this latter is really a vestige of a long, turned-up bird's tail, for on many specimens of this class there are, in spite of the ram's head at the top, various details of birds further down: wings on the bow of the handle, bird's feet standing on the turned-up tail below, see Umehara, Seikwa Pls. 105, 106, 108—110. In the foot belt there is an animal triple band, in the neck belt there are alternating squares with crescents and whorl circles. — Yin or Early Chou. Provenience: probably Lo-yang region. Height 12.5 cm. Patina brown and green with whitish patches.

Pl. 16 (K. 12084). Hu. This large vessel, a truly monumental bronze of exquisite workmanship, is of a somewhat severe form with a finely designed profile. The two small, tube-shaped ears have evidently served merely for passing a cord through, not for fastening a bow handle. The décor on the belly is a very broad belt containing a strongly dissolved T'aot'ie. In spite of its deterioration it is still possible to identify its features, which in several respects are remarkable. Firstly, there is a lower jaw, which is comparatively rare. Secondly, the eyebrows and the horns have coalesced into one big S spiral. Thirdly, there are rows of quills not only along the back, as usual, but continuing above the horn and filling the space all the way forward to the forehead shield; and — still more unusual — there are similar quills hanging down below the chin. Again, behind the raised tail there is another row of quills (see the detail figure), but these are in a horizontal position and are probably meant to belong, in some way or other, to a vertical dragon flanking the T'aot'ie, for there is a well-defined, strongly protruding eye which obviously indicates a dragon's head, though the deformation has gone so far that it is impossible to make out its other features in detail. On some of these points our vessel shows considerable affinity with a Yi found in An-yang (Ye chung III, shang 22) and with a Kia in the Shio-bara collection (Shūkan, Pl. 24). In the neck belt the theme is essentially the same, both the principal T'aot'ie and the flanking dragons, but the details on the T'aot'ie vary slightly (the spiral of the horn going the opposite way). — Yin, B style. Provenience: An-yang. Height: 33 cm. Green patina. Published: BMFEA 9, Pl. 48.

Pl. 17: 1 (K. 12321). Wine beaker (so-called »Chī») with lid. In the narrow décor belts in the centre and on the lid there are, in very low and discreet relief, antithetical dragons in the shape of elongated recumbent S, with the eye precisely in the middle, the downward curve being the beak, the upward one the tail. Where the beaks meet, there is a

very slight ridge, suggesting a flange, on the body of the vessel; on the lid only a vertical line in the décor. The most interesting feature is the knob of the domed lid. It has the shape of an inverted cone, has a whorl circle on the top surface, and 4 rising blades, in high relief, on the stem. This knob is unique, so far as I know. — Yin, B style. Provenience: An-yang. Height 21.5 cm. Light-green and dark-red patina.

Pl. 17: 2 (K. 11055: 43). Wine beaker (so-called »Chi»). This vessel has a softly curving profile and a discreet décor, consisting of a single narrow belt with double spirals in low relief. Yin or Early Chou. Provenience: Lo-yang region. Height 21.5 cm. Green patina.

Pl. 17: 3 (K. 12477). Bell. Thick and heavy, with a pointed-oval cross-section, arched bottom line and hollow handle, open at the top. The décor is a T'aot'ie in broad bands in flat relief (seen from above, the photograph held inverted). On the shaft a character (undecipherable) in incised lines. The whole of one side of the bell is covered with remnants of matting in which the bell had been wrapped. — Yin or Early Chou. Height 17.8 cm. Green, purple and blue patina.



Fig. 6.

Pl. 18 (K. 11004: 161). Lid of a Kuei. The ring-shaped knob could serve as a foot if the lid, inverted, were used as a dish. In two places, opposite each other, there are square holes in the sides of this knob ring (circa 1 cm⁴), possibly vents for fumes from burning charcoal, if the dish was to be heated. The surface has as décor, against an exceedingly fine background of mostly rounded spirals, four large birds with raised tails and alternately turning right and left. The bird's powerful beak is well balanced by double crests, the one hanging far down and at the end cleft into two strands. From the raised tail a big, double-banded plume hangs down, cleft in the same way as the crest. On the neck of the bird there is a big scale. — Early Chou. Inscription: see Fig. 6. The 15th character is unknown: »The prince of Ki (by name) Mo-tsi set apart treasures for Lady Kiang of Ki, and he made a Kuei; Lady Kiang of Ki, (by name) Shi, with it . . . , and with it prayed for a myriad years». Diam. 15.3 cm. Black patina. Published Meng wei, Sü 20; BMFEA 8, Pl. 27; Shang Chou II, p. 165.

Pl. 19 (K. 12475). Ting. This large vessel is very typical of the Middle Chou style at its zenith. The bowl is broad and heavy, but not yet so dominating over the legs as later in the Huai Style; the legs are curved in the outer profile, being bulbous on top and broadening towards the bottom, but not yet with such exaggerated bulbousness as in Huai. The décor consists of a broad belt on the belly with wavy bands, in the sinuses filled with figures possibly of cicada origin; and a neck belt with a broad figured band (of dragon origin); all in low, flat relief and no background pattern. The vessel resembles not only in shape but almost in every detail a Juei Kung Ting in the Ill. Cat.

Chin. Govt. Exh. 1935, vol. 1, Pl. 15. — Middle Chou. Height 30 cm. Polished patina in green of various shades.

Pl. 20: 1 (K. 10000: 498). Ih. A fairly large and bulky specimen. The upper end of the handle has the form of an animal's head (with spiral horns and rolled-up nose) which bites over the rim. On the upper part of the front leg an eye and some summary lines depicting a head are visible, on the hind leg are some big spirals indicating the hind quarters; thus the legs combine to suggest one animal. On the body there are grooves below and, nearest to the rim, a broad figured band with figures of dragon origin (observe the eyes). On the spout the band is, instead, filled with scales. — Middle Chou. Length from rim of spout to back of handle 34 cm. Green patina.

Pl. 20: 2 (K. 11004: 168). Li. This specimen has the characteristics of the Middle Chou style at its best: the graceful shape, with the elegant arched line between the legs; the thin, fin-like flanges, without scores but adorned with triple lines in thread-like relief; the vertical stripes, in the same thread relief, over the belly, and the broad neck belt with a row of scales in low, flat band-relief. — Middle Chou. Inscription: »Po X-fu has made for the Lady Ki of Pi 畢姬 the fine Li; may for a myriad years sons and grandsons forever treasure and use it and sacrifice (with it)«. There are 5 Li in the set with the same inscription; one of them was in Tuan Fang's collection (reproduced with a rubbing of the inscription and drawing of the vessel in T'ao chai 2: 52). Height 12 cm. Glossy black patina. Published: BMFEA 8, Pl. 36.

Pl. 21: 1 (K. 11000: 497). Ting. This vessel is remarkable on account of its proportions: the bulbous legs dominate over the small and shallow bowl in a way that is very unusual. One of the rare parallels, a Ting very similar to our present one, is in Shina Kobijutsu N:o 3, and there is another in Shang Chou II, p. 52. The interlaced pattern on the bowl and the row of scales of varying shape and size on the handles place it on the border line between Middle Chou and Huai. — Declining Middle Chou. Height (to top of handles) 16 cm. Black and green patina.

Pl. 21: 2 (K. 11350). Kuei. This vessel is, in its upper part, divided into 4 sections through the two handles and two small flanges, each forming the central ridge of a much deformed forehead shield of a T'aot'ie. The foot, on the other hand, has only three divisions, effected by three free animals' heads. On the upper part of the handle there is an animal's head, with three parallel projections on the top: two horns and a crest in the middle. Some big, comma-shaped hooks protrude from its mouth and give the impression of big tusks. On other vessels of the same class, however, hooks that are essentially the same as these really represent the wings of a bird, and the projection at the bottom shows the turned-up tail of the bird, see BMFEA 8, pl. 12. For an intermediate stage between that and our present vessel, see Senoku I, pl. 39. The décor is in the foot belt strongly corrupted squared hanging scales, on the belly grooves, and in the neck belt a broad figured band, the figures obviously being corrupted dragons. The workmanship is rather coarse, as often in this period. — Middle Chou. An inscription on the bottom inside is spurious (»Tsī Kiu has made Father Kuei's precious vessel«). This inscription was published from a Kuei in Ts'ao K'uei's collection in Huai mi 1: 21, with the vessel depicted in a drawing: this is an Early Chou vessel, and the ductus of the script is clearly too early for a Middle Chou vessel such as our present specimen. The inscription was repeated in K'i ku shī 7: 11; hence the forger could easily copy it. The inscription only is spurious; the vessel is authentic. — Height 13.6 cm. Grey patina with green and red patches.

Pl. 22 (K. 12310). *Ting*. The shape of one type of the *Ting* in the Huai style is well illustrated here. The body is very broad and heavy in proportion to the short, in the upper part strongly bulbous legs. The bent ears are likewise larger and broader in proportion to the body than in the preceding periods. The three rings on the lid — serving as feet if the lid is inverted and used as a dish — are also a Huai innovation. The body is divided into two belts by a ridge that is rope-patterned. The décor throughout is rows of small dragons with turned-back heads, rolled-up nose, the tongue hanging down across the body, the tail raised in a C spiral, each dragon connected at the back of the neck with the tail of the next; except for narrow bare borders, the dragons' bodies are rope-patterned. In the centre of the lid there is a whorl-circle, with the three comma-shaped figures filled with volutes and triangles. The whole décor is in very low relief. — Huai style period. Height 21.6 cm. Brown patina, with whitish and green patches.

Pl. 23: 1 (K. 11033: 65). *Ting*. The three rings on the lid have toothlike projections, which appear to be enigmatical. Other vessels of the period, however, have projections on top of the rings that are somewhat more elaborate, e. g. our Pl. 27: 1, and these again are summary suggestions of birds, as is shown by a comparison with our Pl. 26: 1. The décor of our vessel here consists of a T'aot'ie mask on the top of the legs (in incised lines); two narrow belts on the body, filled (in low relief) with loosely-twined cord pattern, the broad strands having, between bare borders, a filling of volutes with triangles; two narrow belts on the lid, filled with interlaced dragons, every S figure (with a dragons' head at each end) gripping into the next S; in the centre of the lid a round medallion containing a flower with 6 heart-shaped petals; on the narrow sides of the handles a row of lozenges. — Huai style period. Height (to top of handles) 12 cm. Patina greyish green with patches of light-green and brown.

Pl. 23: 2 (K. 12476). *Ting*. This large and beautifully worked vessel comes very near to the preceding small one in shape and décor scheme. Here the rings have no tooth-like projections but only very slightly raised studs. There is no central medallion in the décor of the lid, but both lid and body have three narrow bands with the loosely-twined cord pattern. On the narrow sides of the handles, on the contrary, we find exactly the same kind of interlaced dragons as on the lid of the preceding specimen. — Huai style period. Height (to top of handles) 34 cm. Light-green patina.

Pl. 24: 1 (K. 12094: 1). *Lid*. This specimen, being quite small, is probably the lid of a Hu flask. The movable ring (which is decorated with volutes and triangles) is attached through a half-ring, which forms the curved back of a dragon; the latter has the head on the one point of attachment, the wings and tail on the other. The décor is rich and finely executed: against a background of granulation, there is an inner circular band enclosing a whorl circle, and outside that band a broad belt, which is divided into four panels by double triangles. In each panel there is a dragon, its head turned sideways, with long, S-shaped horn, and a tuft below the chin; his front-leg has been detached from the body; the vacant space is filled out with round and comma-shaped figures. — Huai style period. Diam. 9 cm. Glossy, yellowish-green patina.

Pl. 24: 2 (K. 11002: 10). *Lid of a large Ting*. Here again the rings have only a suggestion of studs. The décor is very rich. In the central circle there are 3 dragons of the shape analysed in our Fig. 7. As often in the Huai style, their bodies are drawn with two bare border bands and the interior filled with volutes and triangles. In the broad middle belt there is a composition similar to those we find on many Huai bells. The figure is made

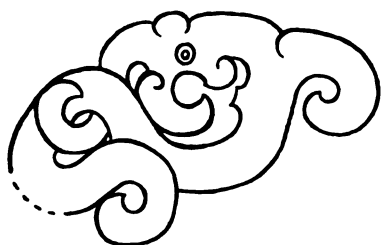


Fig. 7.

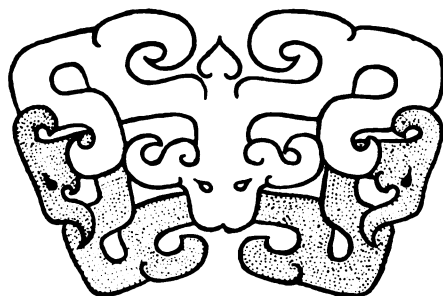


Fig. 8.

with a die and repeated 6 times, and since it does not then go quite round the disk, the small vacant space is filled with part of the same figure. In the middle there is a T'aot'ie, which turns towards the centre of the disk; he has S-shaped horns, and his body rises (in double, one to the right and one to the left) above the head, and goes out in some big bends, cleaving in two places, as shown in Fig. 8. Just where the T'aot'ie ends there is a dragon's head, and the dragon's body first descends in some forceful curves and then passes straight under the T'aot'ie's nose; it then merges into the body of the corresponding dragon on the other side, so that actually the central body passing under the T'aot'ie's nose has a head at the extreme end on either side. The T'aot'ie's body is filled with volutes and triangles, but the dragon's with pointed running spirals. The former has some granulation in the face. In the border belt, again there are panels made with die, each containing two dragons facing opposite directions, see Fig. 9. The dragon's head has granulation, its body is filled with pointed running spirals. — Huai style period. Diam. 29 cm. Smooth grey patina.

Pl. 25: 1 (K. 11359). Lid. There has been a handle of the same kind as that shown in Pl. 24: 1, but it is now broken. The ornamentation is executed with great precision, the décor is in low, flat relief and certain fields have quite probably had some inlay. In the circular band in the centre there are volutes and angles, in the border band a very unusual spiral pattern, in the broad belt, elegantly S-shaped dragons with beaked heads and highly stylized and corrupted feet. Huai style period. Diam. 13 cm. Brown and light-green patina.

Pl. 25: 2 (K. 11395). Lid, probably of a Tou. The top ring is broad and flattened out and forms a steady foot if the lid, inverted, serves as a dish. The décor, in very fine low relief, is: in the inside of the top part, granulation; on the top ring, interlaced snakes (of a type common in Huai, cf. BMFEA 20, Pl. 31) on a granulated ground; in the two belts on the dome, very minute C-shaped dragons placed alternately with the head up and the head down. — Huai style period. Diam. 17.4 cm. Light-green and reddish-brown patina.

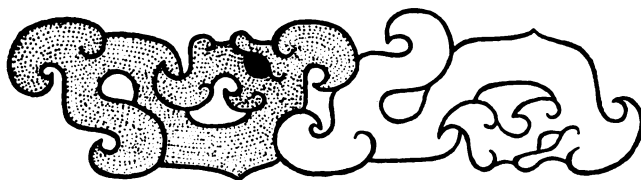


Fig. 9.

Pl. 26: 1 (K. 11001: 12). Ting, one of a pair. This vessel is interesting because it furnishes a good example of one of the two radically different Ting shapes current in the Huai style period. The one type we have studied above (Pls. 22,23): the broad and heavy body with very short, bulbous, dachshund-like legs. The other type here has long, nearly straight, thin legs, widened only just towards the foot, and adorned with a small bulb at the top, with a T'aot'ie mask. Jung Keng has several examples in his Shang Chou II, pp. 59—61, one of them (specimen 100) almost exactly like our present vessel. Our Ting has a movable ring on the lid attached through a half-ring, which has a rudimentary T'aot'ie mask at each point of attachment. Three birds decorated with spirals and granulation adorn the lid. The handles (Fig. 10) are not the ordinary square ones but rounded, and though solid and immovable simulate the shape of handles movable on an axle. — Huai style period. Provenience: Ku-shi hien (Honan, close to Anhwei), where the pair was found together with the Hu in Pl. 27: 1. Height (to top of handles) 27 cm. Greyish-brown patina.

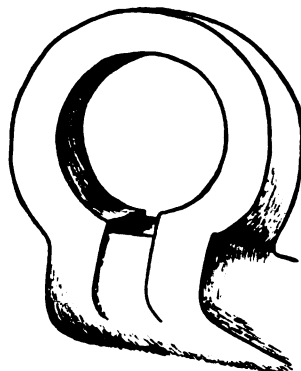


Fig. 10.

Pl. 26: 2 (K. 11358). Ting. The general shape resembles that of the preceding vessel (except for the ordinary square handles), but the neck has been drawn in and further set off against the belly by a raised ridge. The two décor belts have the same figures: exquisitely worked tiny dragons, interlacing in the way shown in our Fig. 11. A most curious phenomenon concerns the legs. All three are covered, up to the beginning of the bulb, with a thin coating of metal, a kind of »stocking». It would seem that the legs have been broken or thought too weak and have been strengthened through these »stockings». It is certainly not a mending done in modern time, but ancient, probably contemporaneous with the vessel, since the quality of the metal and its patina are the same as in the body. — Huai style period. Provenience: Ch'ang-sha region. Height (to top of handles) 24 cm. Light-green patina.

Pl. 27: 1 (K. 11001: 14). Hu. One of a pair. The only embellishments on this vessel are the T'aot'ie mask at the handle, and the projections on the rings of the lid, which summarily suggest birds, if compared with the lid of Pl. 26: 1. — Huai style period. Provenience: Ku-shi hien, found together with the two Ting Pl. 26: 1, and forming a set. Height 31,5 cm. Greyish-brown patina.

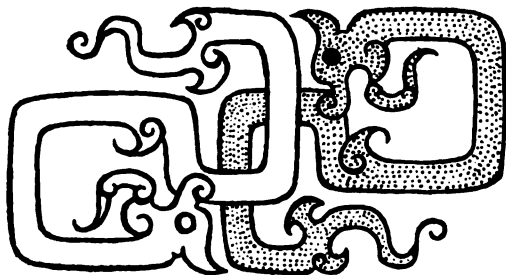


Fig. 11.

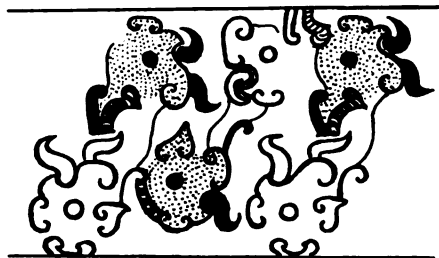


Fig. 12.

Pl. 27: 2 (K. 11002: 2). Hu. This vessel has a chain in its rings, which are attached to a half-ring forming the nose of a T'aot'ie mask. In the centre of this chain there is a bow-shaped handle, at the ring-shaped ends of which there are small T'aot'ie heads. The décor of the vessel consists of five belts with a pattern of very tiny, interlaced dragons (the bodies of which are made up of 3 thin parallel raised lines). Sprinkled over the surfaces are small wart-like studs. — Huai style period. Height 33 cm. Green patina.

Pl. 28: 1 (K. 12261). Hu. This heavily corroded and, on one side, badly damaged vessel is interesting particularly on account of its lid. On it there are, first, three birds as mere ornaments; quite separate from them two half-rings near the rim, in which are inserted big movable rings (one now entirely lost, the other fragmentary); and finally, in the centre, one more half-ring. If we judge from the various Hu illustrated in Shang Chou II, pp. 406, 407, there have probably been two chains attached to the movable rings on the sides of the vessel's body; from there they have passed up through the rim rings on the lid and met in a bow-handle (like the one in Pl. 27: 2); from this handle a chain has been suspended and fastened in the central half-ring of the lid. — The décor consists of very acute-angled rising blades on the neck filled with an intricate spiral pattern. At the bottom of these there is a narrow band with volutes and triangles. On the body and foot, similar bands form borders to broader belts with triangular and spiral patterns. — Huai style period. Provenience: Ch'ang-sha region. Height 26 cm. Glossy bright-green jade-like patina, with heavy reddish incrustations.

Pl. 28: 2 (K. 11373). Square Hu. This vessel has no other adornment than the T'aot'ie mask and the handle, and four figures (one now missing) on the lid, which were originally bird-shaped but are now entirely deformed through corrosion. — Huai style period. Provenience: Ch'ang-sha region. Height 34 cm. Green, jade-like patina.

Pl. 29 (K. 11355). Decagonal Hu. A profusely decorated vessel of the finest quality. The décor is in very low and flat relief. The neck belt is separated from the next décor belt by a row of horizontally placed double-triangles, and the three broad belts on the body are separated from each other by exactly similar bands, though it is hardly visible in the photograph. In the neck belt and the double-triangle bands, all furrows and bottom surfaces have been inlaid with gold, the gold inlay still remaining in many places. In the broad décor belts the furrows and bottom surfaces have been inlaid with turquoise, this inlay still remaining here and there. The outer two broad belts on the body are crossed by heavy zigzag lines; the sinus surfaces resulting from this as well as the broad central belt are filled with a geometrical décor which probably has a dragon and T'ao-t'ie origin, though the figures are now stylized beyond recognition. In the neck belt there are birds with long S-shaped horns and raised tails. Furthest down on the body there is a row of heart-shaped hanging blades, each heart figure formed by antithetical bird-dragons. — Huai style period. Height 25.5 cm. Green, flamy patina.

Pl. 30: 1 (K. 11374). Hu (badly damaged). This vessel has a strongly pronounced shoulder and straight collar-like neck. The grooves in the décor have been inlaid. On the foot there are some very simple figures of dragon origin. The lowest décor belt on the body and that on the shoulder are crossed by thick zigzag lines, just as on the preceding vessel, whereas the upper belt on the body and that on the neck have squared fields. In all probability the décor figures in these belts have a zoöomorphic origin, though the stylization has deformed them beyond recognition. There are strong affinities between this Hu and the preceding one, except for the shape. — Huai style period. Height 19 cm. Light-green, somewhat yellowish patina.

Pl. 30: 2 (K. 11278: 25). Bowl. A richly decorated specimen. On the foot there is a loosely-twined cord pattern. On the belly there are one narrow and one broad belt, separated by a band with plait-pattern; both these belts appear to have a jumble of comma shapes in fairly high relief against a granulated background; but in fact a closer scrutiny will reveal two kinds of dragon's heads (whith the elements detached from each other) as drawn in our Fig. 12. In the neck belt there are three parallel bands containing exceedingly fine-lined figures, which really derive from cicadas in rows. On the outside of the ring-shaped handles (not visible in our photograph) there are spiral figures of dragon origin which have probably been inlaid. — Huai style period. Height 9 cm. Dark-green patina with light-green patches. Published: BMFEA 6, Pl. 33.

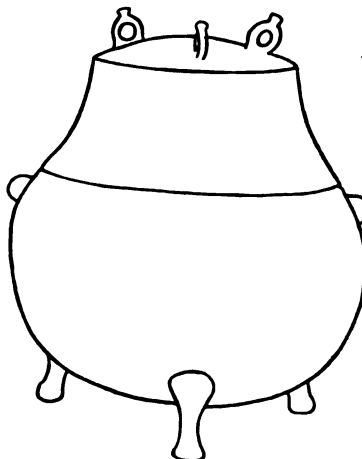


Fig. 13.

Pl. 31 (K. 11090: 170). P'an. The shape of this elegant vessel, the exterior of which is undecorated, is identical with that of a P'an in Tsun ku chai 3: 21 (which has an elaborate Huai décor) and like that vessel has the interior decorated with groups of animals. In the centre there are three medallion-like disks formed by two curved dragons, each biting the tail of the other. The dragon has granulation on chin and neck, rows of scales along the body and rope pattern on the big spiral which emphasizes the shoulder and hind quarters. Corresponding to these dragons, between each dragon and the rim, there are three serpentining dragons seen from above (both eyes visible) which have the bodies adorned with two bands of granulation. Nearest to the rim, though not just outside the dragons but in the space between them, there are three deer, with the neck and breast covered with granulation, the major part of the body with oval spots. On the upper sides of the handles there are bodied T'aot'ie in incised lines. The comparison with the above-mentioned P'an in Tsun ku chai gives a sure dating. — Huai style period. Provenience: Northernmost Shansi (north of Ta-t'ung). Height (to top of handles) 15 cm. Diam. 36 cm. Greyish-green patina. Published: BMFEA 6, Pl. 31.

Pl. 32: 1 (K. 11001: 7). This small and very refined vessel has the grooves of the Middle Chou style, but these have sometimes survived into the following epoch, and here we have them combined with the 3 rings on the lid, a typical Huai feature. The shape of the specimen is simple but sensitive, the proportions perfect. — Huai style period. Provenience: Shou-chou. Height 15 cm. Diam. 11.5 cm. The patina is a glossy, smooth yellowish-green water-patina, which makes the surface look like jade.

Pl. 32: 2 (K. 12096: 2). Bowl. A small, beautifully composed vessel. The foot, in open-work, has four tigers with very elongated bodies and necks, each of them having the neck behind the feet of an eagle, and turning the head outwards so as to be seen *en face* (in our photograph we see in the centre such a tiger's head and to the right the shoulder and fore-legs; to the left in the photograph we see the hind quarters, hind leg and tail of the next tiger). The eagle has its wings spread over the lower part of the bowl, thus supporting it on its back. In the broad décor belt above this, there is the comma pattern as ground, and on this, in low, flat relief, broad bare bands: two horizontal bands, framing in the belt, and between them alternating squares and squared spirals. — Huai style



Fig. 14.

period. Provenience: Shou-chou. Height 6.3 cm. Diam. of rim 9.2 cm. The patina is brown, light-green and bright blue.

Pl. 33: 1 (K. 11001: 8). Tripod. Since the lid is lacking, we have to refer to a vessel of the same class in order to show how shape would be when complete. Our Fig. 13 shows the general outline of a very similar vessel in the Murray collection (after Koop, *Early Chinese Bronzes*, Pl. 33). The legs of our vessel here are formed like bears standing on their hind legs. The bow handle attached to the chains has a dragon head at each end. — Huai style period or Han? Height 12 cm. Glossy green patina of various shades.

Pl. 33: 2 (K. 11356). P'ou. This large vessel has handles (one broken) of a curious composition. Taken as a whole, the figure whose arched body forms part of the half-ring, is a tiger-like animal with its head turned sideways and its tongue hanging down. But on its back there is a kind of disk with the features of a T'aot'ie turned upwards, and since there is a raised edge all round the handle just across from the upper end of the disk (i. e. the nose of the T'aot'ie), representing a mouth closing round it, the result is that (while the entire handle represents one head-turning animal) the lower part of the handle is a gaping dragon with a T'aot'ie head swallowing all the hind part of the head-turning animal above it, see our Fig. 14. We find a handle of just the same formation on an urn in a Dutch collection, see de Visser, Pl. 18. The décor of the vessel consists of alternating belts of interlaced dragons and rows of scales, all in low, flat relief. — Huai style period. Height 28 cm. Dark-green patina.

Pl. 34 (K. 11276: 72). Bell of type Ch'un-yü. The specimen is fully open at the lower, narrower end; it was struck by some (wooden?) hammer. The tiger on the top, adorned with scale-bands and spirals, has a loop on its back as a device for suspending the bell. The décor, which is exceedingly minute, is excuted with a perfect finish. The shoulder section is entirely covered with a pattern of dense and very small spirals, and in this two medallions are inserted, each showing, within a border of loosely-twined cord pattern, a whorl circle in fairly high relief. The central surface is bare except for a still larger medallion with the same border combined with granulation. Further below, in the same impressed technique, there is a narrow band with consecutive dragons, a broader belt with a geometrical pattern, namely the modified »interlocked T's» pattern with zigzag stems studied in BMFEA 13, p. 30, and, finally, at the bottom, a double-rope ornament in high relief. — Huai style period. Provenience: Ch'ang-sha region. Height to the rim 37.5 cm. Green patina with brown and bluish patches. Published: BMFEA 6, Pl. 28; Exhibition London, Pl. 30.

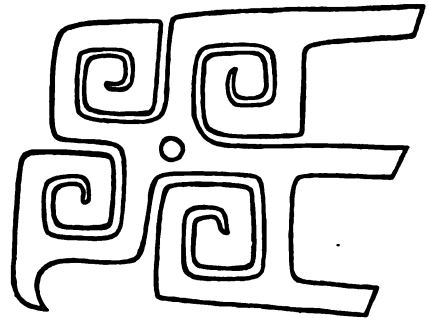


Fig. 15.

Pl. 35 (K. 11376). Bell. Pointed-oval cross-section, arched bottom line. This specimen is



Fig. 16.

interesting owing to its combination of various décor themes, all executed with perfect precision. On the shaft and the upper surface of the bell there are, in very low relief, small curled dragons alternately having their head bent upwards and downwards. On the thick ring at the base of the shaft, there are four protruding eyes, each of which plays the rôle of «volute» in two antithetical volute-and-triangle figures on either side, thus forming the centre of four such figures. In the narrow bands between the bosses there is a slanting spiral pattern (made by die). On the big lower surface of the bell there is an exceedingly dissolved T'aot'ie, the fundamental figure being of the «winged» type, an upper band representing the wing, a lower the body. In the present case the drawing is stylized in the extreme, the bands dividing out into several strands and each curve ending in a spiral, which continues inwards until the whole space is filled. In order to simplify the figure and analyse it in a way that is easily grasped, we have, in our Fig. 15, reduced each spiral to a more summary line. — Huai style period. Height 34 cm. Patina silvery grey, with patches of light-green and reddish-brown.

Pl. 36 (K. 11002: 1). Bell, Chung. Pointed-oval cross-section, straight bottom line. This large bell, which has often been published, is remarkable for its exquisite workmanship. The suspending device consists of a snake with two bodies, which ascend in S-curves and meet so as to form the suspending loop. The snake body has in its lower part two

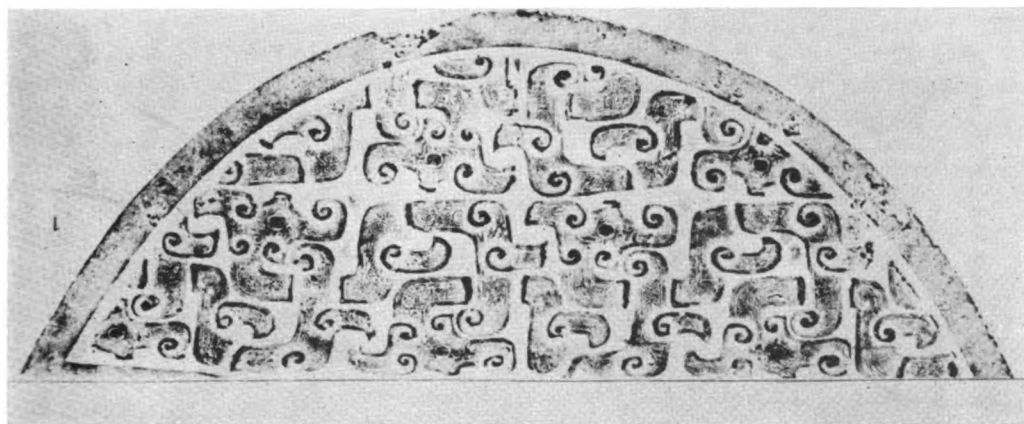


Fig. 17.

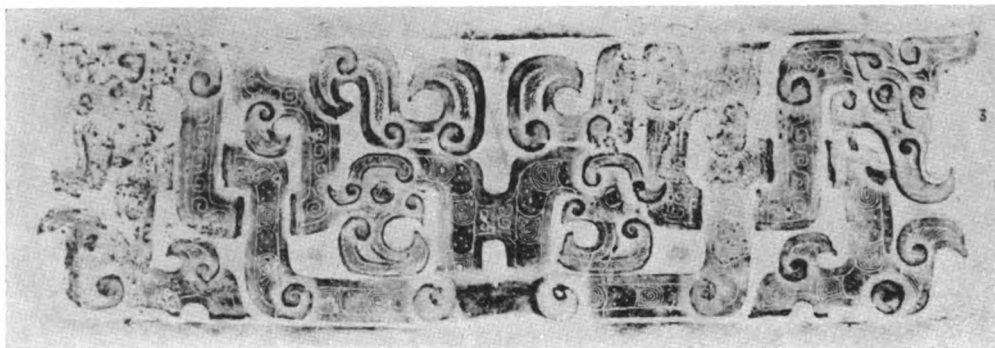


Fig. 18.

densely-dotted bands, in its upper two bands filled with scales. A tiger on each side of the snake pushes his neck round the bend in the snake's body, turns back the head and touches his own back with his nose. On the body and neck this tiger is adorned with C and S spirals in flat bare bands, in very low relief, against a ground of slanting lines («rope pattern»); on the legs there are scales, on the tail volutes with angles. The décor of the rest of the bell is best seen in the rubbings, our Figs. 16—18. On the top surface of the bell (Figs. 17, 19) there is a fairly simple pattern: dragons with rolled-up, granulated nose and big rope-patterned horns have S-shaped bodies, each dragon's body ending in the mouth of the next; the bodies are filled with the volute-and-triangle pattern. In the narrow belts (Figs. 16, 20) the motif is very nearly the same, only slightly varied. In the larger lower surface of the bell (Figs. 18, 21), there is an elaborate T'aot'ie figure, with eye-brows, big S-shaped horns, violently drawn-up C-shaped mouth-line (just below the eye), and rolled-up nostrils (drawn farthest away); its body (one on each side) goes out in a long S curve and is cleft towards the end into two strands; half-way it interlaces with a dragon's body. The T'aot'ie has, on its central face (two parallel bands, connected in the middle, descending to the nostrils) as well as on its body, an adornment that is highly interesting: there are rows of scales, every second one with concentric lines inside, every second one with four dots around a central dot, this last a resuscitated Yin-time motif which has its origin in pre-historic times (see for instance BMFEA 8, Pl. 28 and BMFEA 15, Pl. 124); on the horns there are double rows of scales, only half of each visible. On the tufts on the tail there are slanting lines (rope pattern). The T'aot'ie is flanked by two dragons (Fig. 21). Each dragon has its face turned outwards (away from the T'aot'ie); the nose (scaled) curves up, a big tusk is visible in the upper jaw, the eye is protruding, the ear and horn adorned with slanting lines, the body, arched in a big curve and inter-

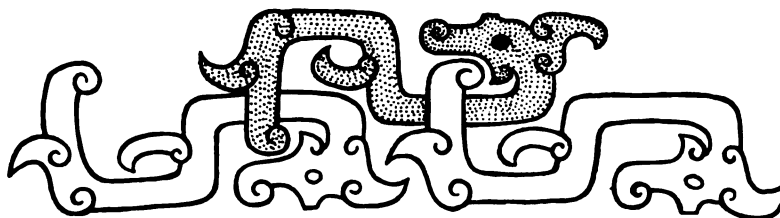


Fig. 19.

lacing with the T'aot'ie's body, is cleft at the end; it is decorated with S spirals and slanting lines on the tail tuft. The hemispherical bosses are decorated with whorl-circles in high relief, each comma figure in the «whorl» having a small tuft branching off inwards. Altogether, the décor is as elaborate as it is precise and exquisite. — Huai style period. Height 67 cm. Dark, brownish-green patina. Published: Künimel, *Chinesische Kunst*, Pl. 25; BMFEA 6, Pl. 27; Umehara, *Seikwa* I: 3, Pl. 199; Umehara, *Etude* Pl. 101.

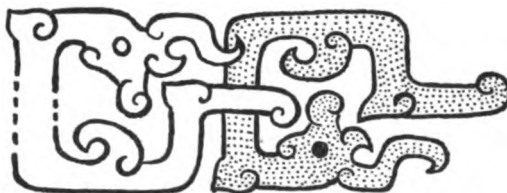


Fig. 20.

Pl. 37 (K. 12514). Bell. Pointed-oval cross-section, arched bottom line, hollow shaft open on top. This specimen is remarkable principally for its sturdiness. The décor in the narrow belts between the bosses consists of a border band (all round the rectangular field) of dotted circles in thin thread relief; inside this some dragon figures, now undecipherable, in the same thread relief. (For a bell with a closely cognate décor in the Sumitomo collection, see Senoku III, Pl. 121). On the lower surface there is, in very low, flat band relief, and with certain lines emphasized by being incised into the ground, a strongly simplified T'aot'ie mask (to be seen from above, with the photograph held inverted). — Huai style period. Height 51 cm. Weight 33 kilograms. Dark green patina.

Pl. 38: 1 (K. 11391). Bell. This large specimen has no décor and its main point of interest is its shape. It is pointed-oval in cross-section, but remarkably flat, the diametrical measures being 31 cm. from corner to corner, 15 cm. across at the highest point of the arched bottom line. The shaft is hollow, but has a transversal bar (5 mm. thick) inside the shaft 2 cm. from the top. — Huai style period or Han? Height 59 cm. Black and dark-green patina.

Pl. 38: 2 (K. 11372). Bell. This small bell, which has a pointed-oval cross-section and arched bottom line, has three interesting features. In the first place, the shaft is not in the centre but slightly to one side — the idea of this asymmetry being entirely obscure. Secondly, there are two vertical slits on each side. Thirdly, there is the crouching bear on top of the shaft, cleverly and expressively modelled. — Huai style period or Han? Height 25 cm. Light yellowish-green water-patina.

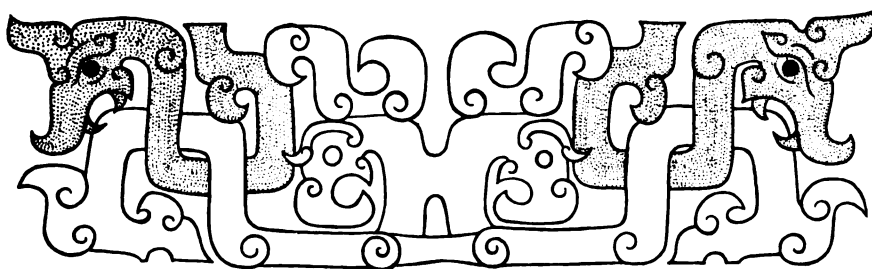


Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.

Pl. 38: 3 (K. 11360). Bell. A small bronze of an extraordinary shape. The long and heavy, hexagonal shaft contrasts curiously with the narrow bell proper, which latter has an exaggeratedly high arch-line in its bottom edge. In spite of its smallness, the bell is quite thick and heavy. — Huai style period or Han? Height 20.5 cm. Light-brown glossy water-patina.

Pl. 39: 1 (K. 11001: 6). Censer. This is quite the ordinary type, with hills rising above each other on the open-work lid and, on the base of the stem, similar hills with figures of animals. — Han. Height 24 cm. Diam. of dish 23.5 cm. Brown and dark-green patina; richly splashed with light-green and bright-red patches

Pl. 39: 2 (K. 11394). Censer. In contrast to the preceding specimen, this censer has a domed lid, which together with the bowl assumes a spherical shape. The open-work on the lid is more airy and elegant, the long sweeping curves adorned with tiny peaks being much more stylized. On the top there is a circle formed by a narrow band in rope pattern, and inside this a very sophisticated whorl circle (Fig. 22). The hill and animals on the base of the stem are much the same as on the preceding vessel. Like that one, our bronze here has originally had a bottom dish, now broken off. For a censer identical with our specimen here (with the dish preserved) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see Umehara, *Seikwa* 1: 3, Pl. 242. — Han. Height 17 cm. Dark-green, light-green and red patina.

Pl. 40. (K. 11345). Lamp. The whole object in 40: 1. The small bowl on top, which constitutes the lamp proper, is detachable. It is quite plain. The support, on the contrary, has a rich décor. The upper part of the stem shows a dragon's head (Pl. 40: 2) turned upwards biting over the stem. Below, the stem rests on the head of a sitting figure with human body but a bear's(?) head. The garment of this figure is nicely worked: collar, lapels, dotted jacket and striped skirt on the front side, an elaborate pattern of the garment on the back (see detail in 40: 3). On the postament there is, thrice repeated, a fancy beast with a big head, plastically raised high from the surface, the rest drawn in incised lines. The body, the four springily moving legs (with long-clawed feet) and the tail are covered with dotting indicating fur, the wing with slanting lines (»rope pattern«). The head shows horns, big eyes and mustachios over the mouth. The foot rim of the stand is adorned with lozenges and acute-angled rising blades. The technique and style associates this specimen closely with a decorated tube described and illustrated in *BMFEA* 20, p. 24 and Pl. 43, with a censer in *Hakkaku kikkin shū* pl. 28, a lamp in the Louvre (Umehara, *Seikwa* III, Pl. 245), a flat Hu in the Art Institute of Chicago (*Chicago Cat.* Pl. 83), and, last but not least, with the small Hu in our Pl. 41. These various objects form an interesting group, which can be approximately dated in middle or late Han time through a Lien (toilet case) cover excavated in Lo-lang, Korea, on which an animal in incised execution is very closely cognate to our beast here (Sekino, Pl. 281). — Han. Height 33.5 cm. Light-green and blue patina.

Pl. 41: 1 (K. 12096: 1). Hu. This small and delicate vessel is stylistically closely akin to the preceding lamp. The décor, in incised lines, shows the same springily moving beast, with the same fur-denoting dotting of the body and, in the shoulder and foot belts, the same strongly acute-angled rising blades. And here again we have a stylistic contact with the finds in Lo-lang, Korea. The dumpy shape, very uncommon, is exactly the same

as that of a Hu excavated there (Sekino, Pl. 273), which contributes towards confirming the date of the whole group. — Han. Provenience: stated to have come from the Ch'ang-sha region. Height 9.7 cm. Yellowish-green, smooth glossy water-patina, reminiscent of jade.

Pl. 41: 2 (K. 12315). A fancy animal which has served as a support. Behind the right shoulder there is a socket, and another socket on the back holds a short tube ending in a quatrefoil; in this, again, there is a vertical hole, which shows that the stem of some other object (a lamp? cf. Pl. 40) has been inserted there. In some cases thick-set fancy animals of precisely this type are ridden by human figures who on their heads carry a censer, see Umehara, *Seikwa* III, Pl. 243. Our animal here has horns reclining close to the back of the head, mustachios brushed back from the open mouth and below the chin a long tuft which hangs down to the breast. The whole body is covered with scales except the shoulder and hind quarters, which have wing-like adornments drawn in slanting lines (»rope-pattern«). — Han. Provenience: stated to come from the Ch'ang-sha region. Height 9 cm. Light-green and blue patina.

Pl. 42: 1 (K. 11001: 15). Bowl. The décor is limited to the raised lines shown in the photograph, and an ordinary T'aot'ie mask above the ring handle. This large vessel is beautiful principally through its fine proportions. — Han. Height 11.4 cm. Diam. 28 cm. Light green patina. Published: BMFEA 6, Pl. 43.

Pl. 42: 2 (K. 11001: 9). P'an. The legs are of the same squat and bulbous type as those on Huai Ting vessels. The décor consists exclusively of horizontal lines in high relief. Observe the unusual shape of the handles. This large specimen has, like the preceding, exquisite proportions and great beauty. — Han. Height 13 cm. Diam. 32 cm. A rich green patina.

Pl. 42: 3 (K. 11393). Pot with spout and square handle. The lid missing. — Han? Height to rim: 10 cm. Dark-green patina.

Abbreviations of book titles quoted in this paper:

BMFEA	= Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.
Crown Prince Cat.	= Selected Chinese Antiquities from the Collection of Gustaf Adolf Crown Prince of Sweden, ed. Nils Palmgren, Stockholm 1948.
Chengsung	= Lo Chen-yü, <i>Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen</i> , 1930—31.
Exhibition London	= The Chinese Exhibition, a commemorative Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Chinese Art . . . , London 1936.
de Visser	= H. F. E. Visser, <i>Asiatic Art in private collections in Holland and Belgium</i> , 1948.
Huai mi	= Ts'ao K'uei, <i>Huai mi shan fang ki kin t'u</i> , 1839.
Ill. Cat. Chin. Govt. Exh.	= Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Government Exhibits for the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London, vol. I, 1935.
K'i ku shi	= Liu Sin-yüan, <i>K'i ku shi ki kin wen shu</i> , 1902.
Mengwei	= Lo Chen-yü, <i>Meng wei ts'ao t'ang ki kin t'u</i> , 1917—18.
Sekino	= Sekino, T., etc., <i>Archaeological Researches on the Ancient Lolang District</i> , 1925.

Senoku	= Hamada, K., Senoku Seishō; or the collection of old bronzes of Baron Sumitomo, 1st ed. 1919.
Shang Chou	= Jung Keng, Shang Chou yi k'i t'ung k'ao, 1941.
Shina Kobijutsu	= Shina kobijutsu zufu, 1933.
Shūkan	= Shū kan ihō, Relics of Han and Pre-Han dynasties, 1933.
T'ao chai	= Tuan Fang, T'ao chai ki kin lu, 1908.
Tsun ku chai	= Huang Sün, Tsun ku chai so kien ki kin t'u 1936.
Umehara, Seikwa	= Umehara, S., Shina kodō seikwa, 7 vols. 1933—35.
Umehara, Etude	= Umehara, S., Etude des bronzes des royaumes combattants, 1936.
Ye chung	= Huang Sün, Ye chung p'ien yü (I 1935, II 1937, III 1942).
Yen k'u	= Liang Shang-ch'un, Yen k'u ki kin t'u lu 1944.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the two articles describing Chinese ritual bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (the paper in BMFEA 20 and the present one), 60 specimens have been depicted which belong to the Yin or the Early Chou period. They fully confirm what is already well known from scores of earlier publications of ancient Chinese ritual vessels: the oldest phase we know of the Chinese bronze art is not a primitive stage but a fully developed art — both technically and artistically — of the highest perfection. No preparatory stages leading up to the An-yang bronze art have so far been discovered. This is still the greatest enigma in the field of Chinese archaeology.

Since it seems obvious that the invention of bronze making cannot have been independently made in China, the generally accepted conclusion is that the bronze technique was introduced from the West. But then the great question arises: when and how?

In an article: Weapons and tools from Anyang, and Siberian Analogies (Amer. J. of Archaeology 1949), Max Loehr has the answer ready. He writes: »Anyang represents, according to our present knowledge, the oldest Chinese metal site, taking us back to ca. 1300 B. C. It displays no signs of a primitive stage of metal-working but utter refinement. Primitive stages have, in fact, nowhere been discovered in China up to the present moment. Metallurgy seems to have been brought to China from outside. Whence, is an open question; but whatever the sources were, *the way led via Siberia and possibly, Eastern Turkestan*».

Nothing could be more rash and uncritical than this statement. The great question is precisely whether Siberia did or did not act as intermediary in the epoch-making event.

In order to make it probable that Siberia has passed the art of bronze casting over to the Chinese, Loehr takes up for detailed discussion the question of the

«animal-style» knives and axes found in An-yang (1300—1027 B. C.) and their relation to the kindred types of knives and axes in the Yenissei (Minussinsk) region. He would show that during the Yin era (historical time) Siberia was the giver and not the taker; still more natural, then, would it be to accept Siberia as the nearest source for the first introduction of the bronze making into China in prehistoric time.

In his discussion of the «animal-style» weapons common to An-yang and Minussinsk Loehr is singularly unfortunate. The earliest Minussinsk period in which these types of artifacts, cognate to those of An-yang, do possibly appear is the so-called Kara-Suk culture.¹⁾ This culture, in fact, cannot be dated further back than 1000 B. C. and the «animal-style» artifacts in An-yang (1300—1027) are thus earlier; these types spread slowly from China to Mongolia and reached the Yenissei region well into the 1st millennium B. C. But in order to show a contrary movement, Loehr has to revise the Siberian chronology. He dates Kara-Suk around 1400 B. C., for three reasons. Firstly, he says: «This stage is dated 1500—1000 B. C. by V. A. Gorodkov (Amer. Anthropologist 1933)»; but in fact Gorodkov, in a bare dating scheme given without any supporting comment whatsoever, enumerates 5 cultures roughly dated «500—1000 B. C.», of which Kara-Suk is the 4th; it is inconceivable how Loehr can make the lapsus of basing himself on such premisses for arriving at his date 1400. Secondly, Tallgren (SMYA XXIX) had dated some primitive ring-headed knives, cognate to those of An-yang, around 1500 B. C.; but that was in 1919, and in 1927 Tallgren says (ESA III, p. 187) that «bis jetzt muss wohl die Chronologie der Kara-Suk Gräber mit einem Fragezeichen versehen werden», which deprives his tentative dating made in 1919 of any value. In the third place, Loehr quotes with approval a pronouncement made by Kühn: «H. Kühn, in due consideration of pertinent Anyang finds in the Toronto museum, concluded (IPEK 1938, p. 162) that the Siberian parallels must be *at least* contemporaneous with Anyang, hence around 1300 B. C.». This last is amusing. The formulation («at least») shows that Kühn-Loehr consider Minussinsk as primary, Anyang as secondary, and in reality they treat us to the following beautiful syllogism:

The An-yang animal-style artifacts are derived from those of Minussinsk because the latter were *at least* as early as those in An-yang;

How do we know that the Minussinsk artifacts were so early?

Because otherwise the An-yang artifacts could not be derived from them!

However, *even if* the Minussinsk types, cognate to those of An-yang, were contemporaneous with the An-yang culture (which they were decidedly not), they

¹⁾ It is even questionable whether they are so early and whether animal-head knives and daggers do really appear in Kara-Suk, or only in the following period, the Minussinsk Kurgan I culture. See the conscientious and excellent investigation of James H. Gaul, *Observations on the Bronze Age in the Yenisei Valley, Siberia* (in *Papers of the Peabody Museum*, vol. XX, 1943). If Loehr had known this first-rate study, he could have avoided many of his most grotesque mistakes.

need not, of course, therefore be primary in Minussinsk and secondary in An-yang. Loehr believes that he has found a very potent argument for the foreign-import nature of these animal-style types in An-yang: »It is impossible to trace Shang (i. e. Yin) ornamentation in the bronzes from Suiyüan, Inner Mongolia and Central Siberia». Why should then the Chinese influence be limited to certain knife and axe types and not include Yin décor? Loehr sums up: »It would seem more natural to assume that what looks foreign (sc. in An-yang) actually was foreign, that, in other words, an infusion of nomadic art left its traces in the remains of the »cosmopolitan» Big City of Shang».

The answer here is, however, very simple. The Yin »ornamentation» of which Loehr speaks was applied to ritual objects and luxury objects. It was not applied to ordinary, everyday tools and quite particularly not to simple weapons intended for real use, such as ordinary knives and certain kinds of simple axes. But these were precisely the categories of objects which interested the nomads of the North. They accepted them eagerly and used them with advantage, but they had no use for or interest in the richly decorated (and certainly exceeding expensive) temple bronzes and ceremonial paraphernalia of An-yang. This contrast between ritual and lay objects in An-yang is denied by Loehr: »There was no particular ritual style in Anyang. The very same style is found in ritual vessels (used in the ancestral cult) and in ordinary commonplace tools and weapons that cannot be regarded as sacerdotal or ritual, e. g., spear-heads, socketed celts, jade carvings, bronze fittings, chariot parts, hair pins». This is where Loehr goes wrong. The ritual style is the one pertinent to ritual vessels and to *luxury objects*, such as ceremonial axes and all the objects enumerated by Loehr, when *made for show and display*. The ordinary lay objects had a far more simple décor; if Loehr would visit our Stockholm museum, we could show him series and series of such simpler objects from the earliest periods.

Sometimes, however, there are very telling points of contact between these more natural and simple lay objects and the more sophisticated luxury objects. In BMFEA 17, 1945 I drew attention to one such phenomenon. The lay knife with a slantingly placed animal's head has, when translated into a ritual dagger-axe, given its shape to the latter: the tang still has the contour of a slantingly placed equine head; but the natural purport of this shape has been obscured, either by the alteration of the simple and natural equine head into a violently stylized bird's head, or by the filling-in, inside that slanting head contour, of various décor elements of a secondary nature. Loehr finds this description of a very evident and easily realized fact »absurd».

The climax in Loehr's demonstration is, however, the following. He says (p. 130): »It is therefore not out of place to call to mind that the Karasuk Stage was preceded in Siberia by an Early Bronze culture, the Andronovo Stage, taking us further back in time The Andronovo stage was again preceded by an earlier chalcolithic culture in Minusinsk, the Afanasieva culture, which takes us back to around 2000

B. C. according to Teploukhov, to the third millennium according to Gorodkov Chronological conditions, in short, suggest that the Early Bronze Age of the Steppe started considerably earlier than Anyang. Analogies between the Steppe and Anyang cannot therefore be explained as Anyang-derived».

Even a freshman would realize immediately the absurdity of this argumentation. If there are two extensive periods in the Siberian bronze age, Andronovo and Afanasiev, in which there is nothing really characteristic that is akin to the Chinese bronze age; and if, on the other hand, in the third Siberian phase, Karak-Suk (or possibly, only in the fourth, Minussinsk Kurgan I) there suddenly appear artifacts obviously akin to such in An-yang, the natural conclusion is precisely the opposite to that drawn by Loehr: we have every reason to see, in the sudden appearance in Siberia of An-yang types, a trace of the widening Chinese sphere of influence. And quite particularly this contrast between Chinese-related types in Karak-Suk (or the following) and no Chinese-related types in Afanasiev and Andronovo, emphasizes the possibility that the earliest introduction of the art of bronze casting into China did *not* take place via Siberia. The secret of the bronze was transmitted along some route which is, in short, at present entirely unknown to us.

We are thus brought back to the point from which we started. We know as yet nothing about the Chinese stages preparatory to An-yang. And for lack of knowledge of these primary stages of Chinese bronze art we have no means of discovering the roads along which the secret of the bronze casting was introduced into China. Perhaps the secret of the missing primitive stages is connected with the Yellow River? Is there somewhere a pre-An-yang capital with elementary bronzes, buried to deep under the silt of the River to be brought to light?









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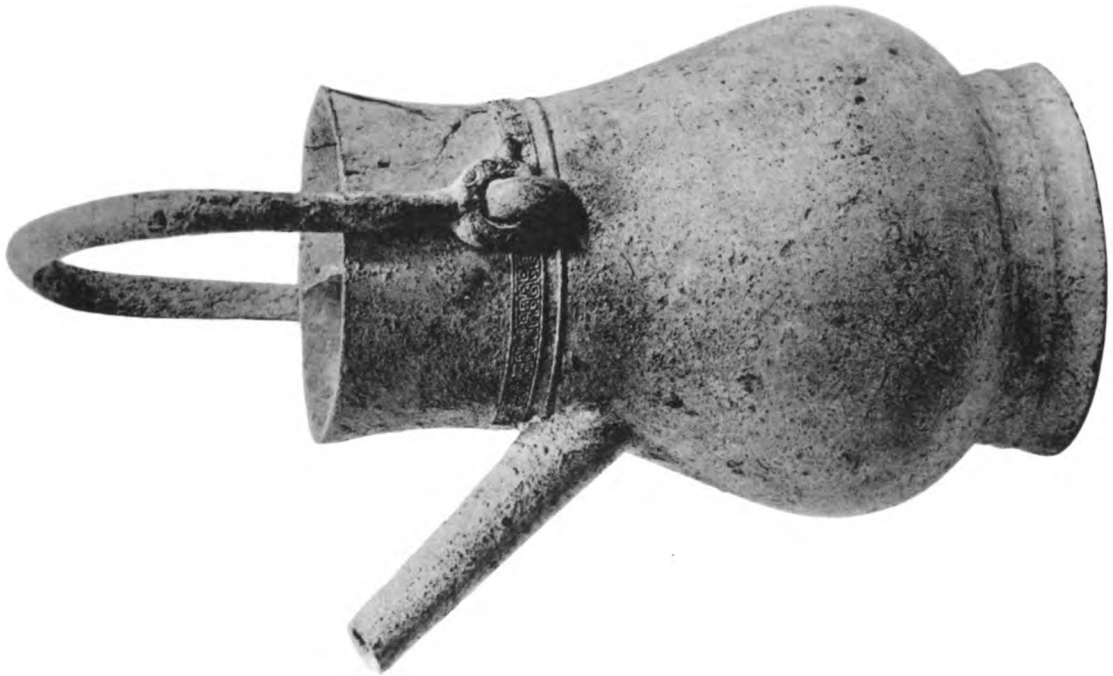


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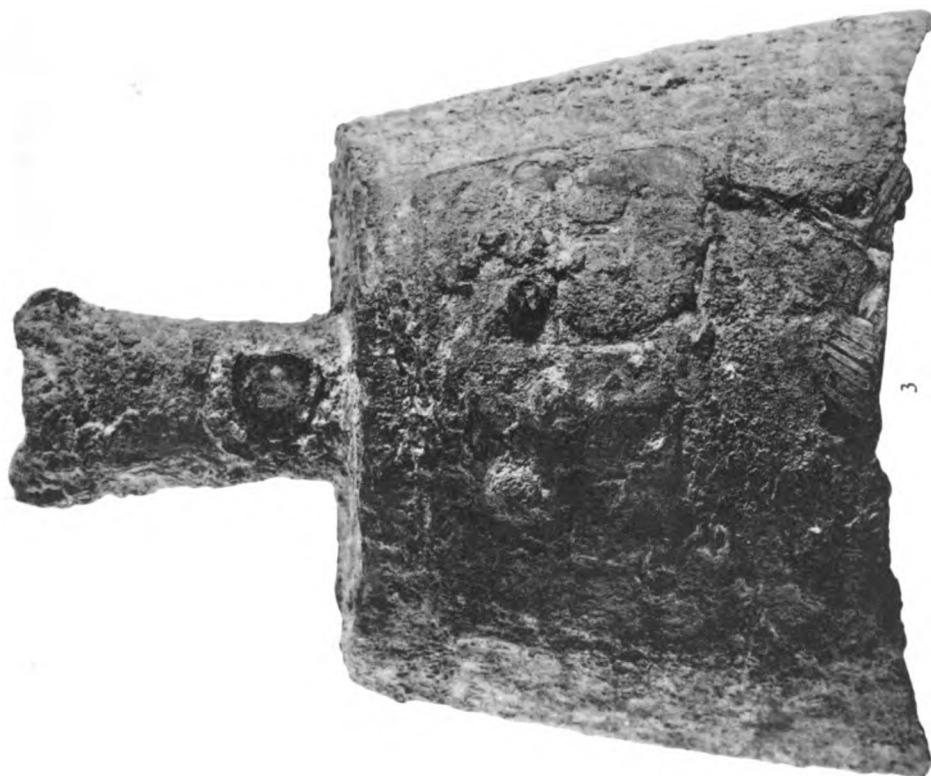


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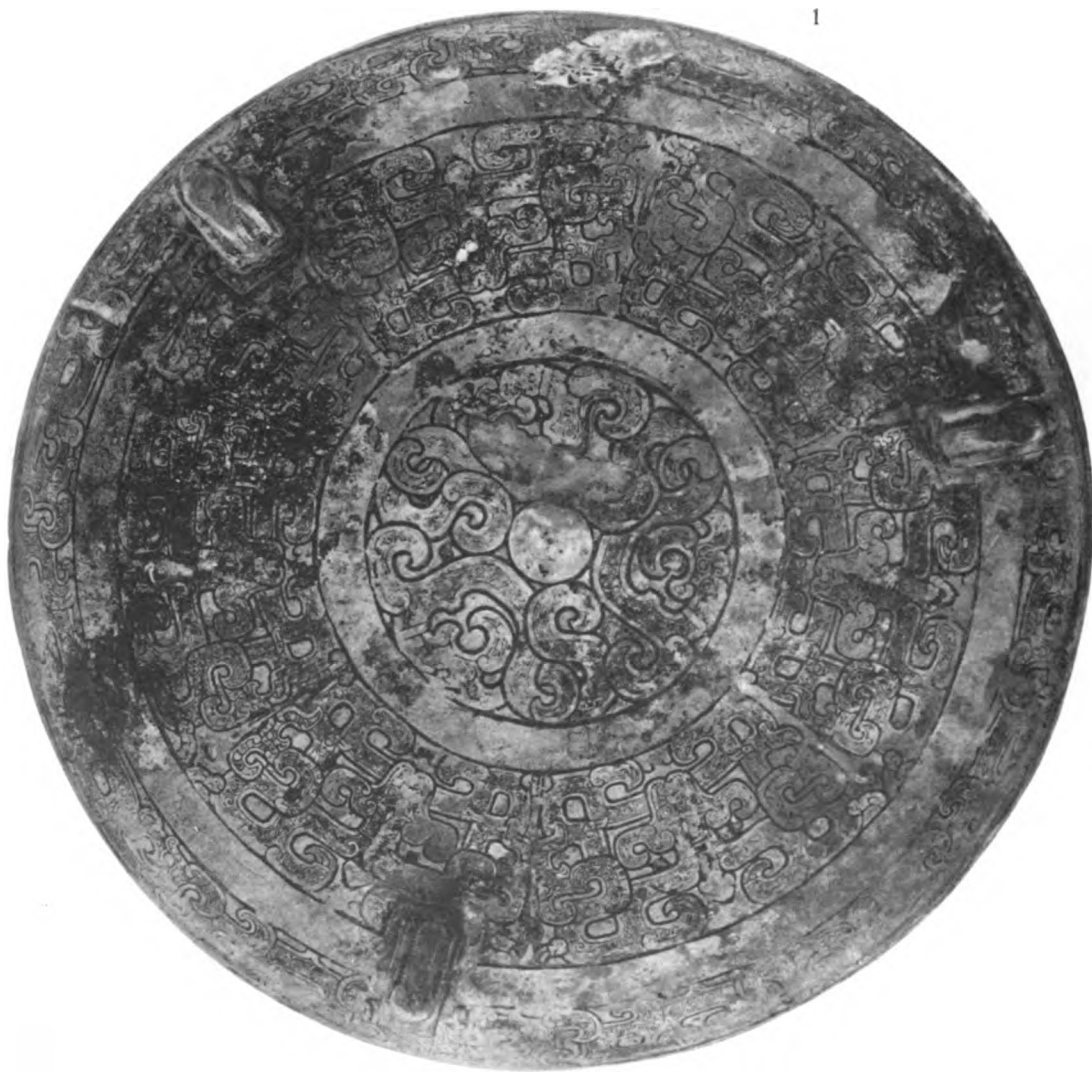








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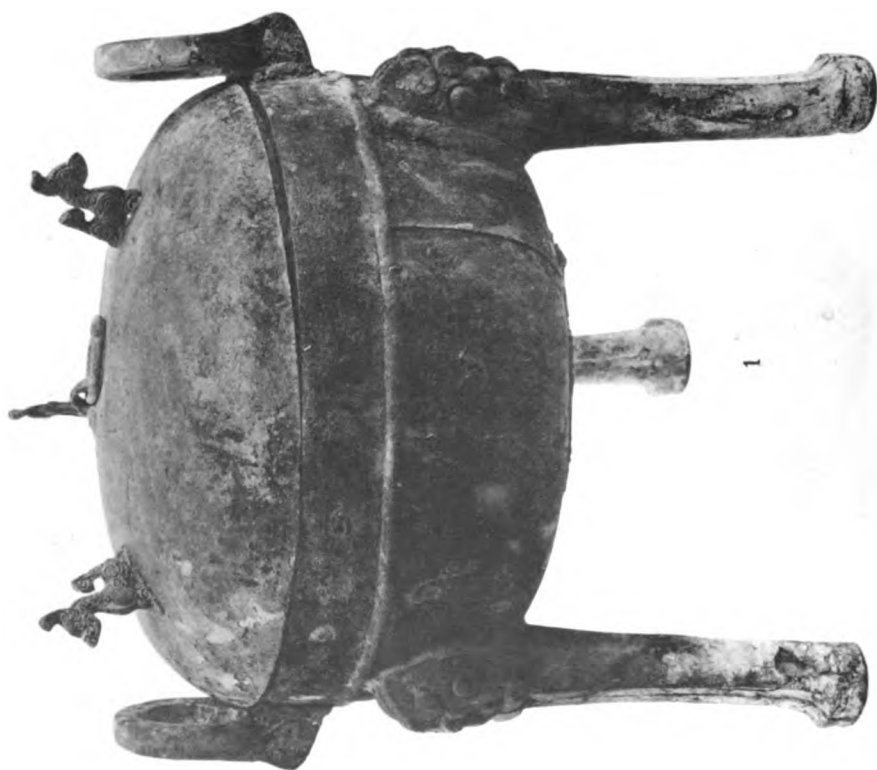
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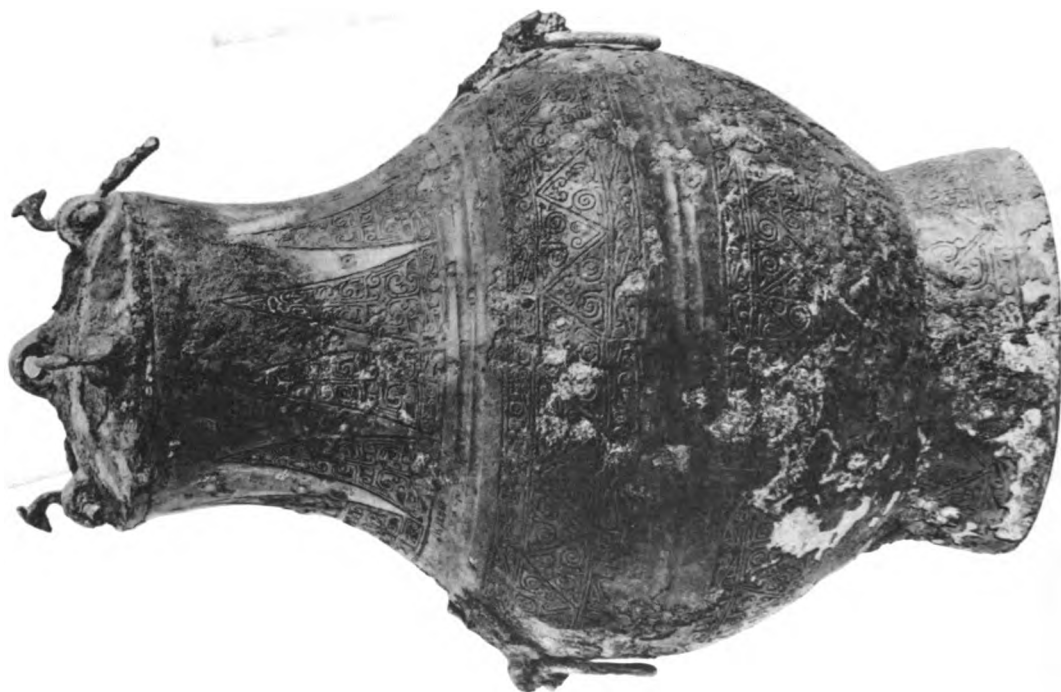




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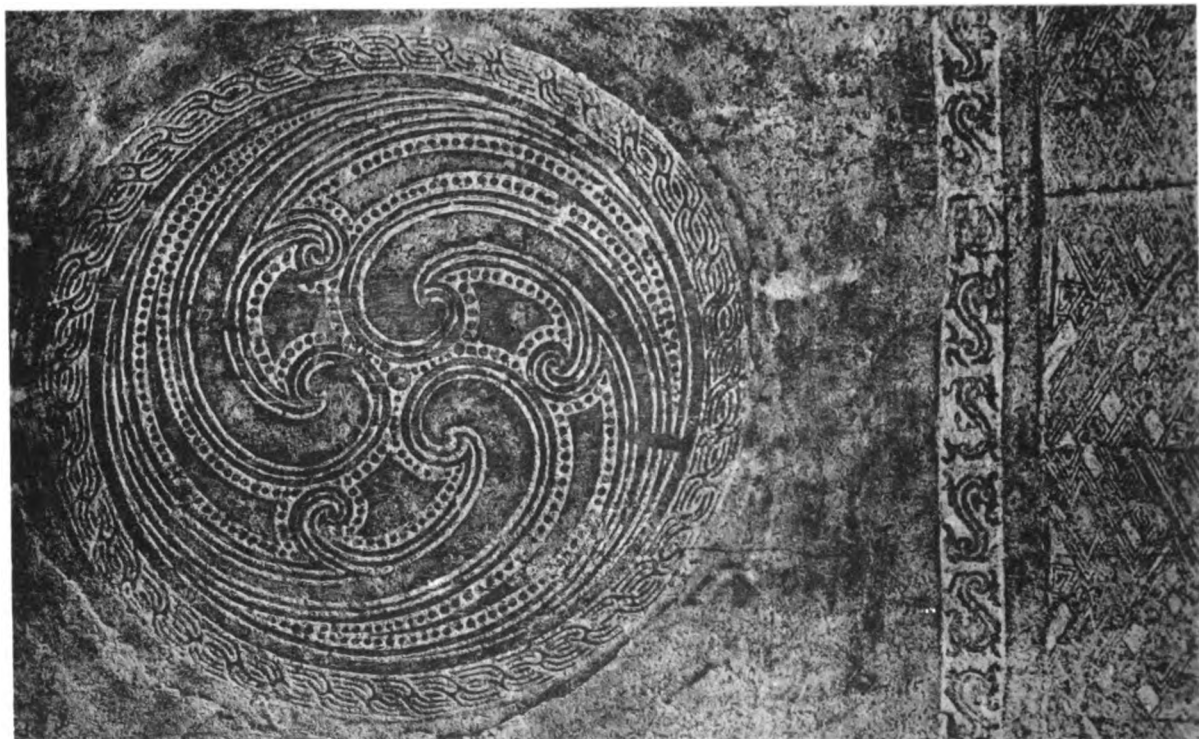


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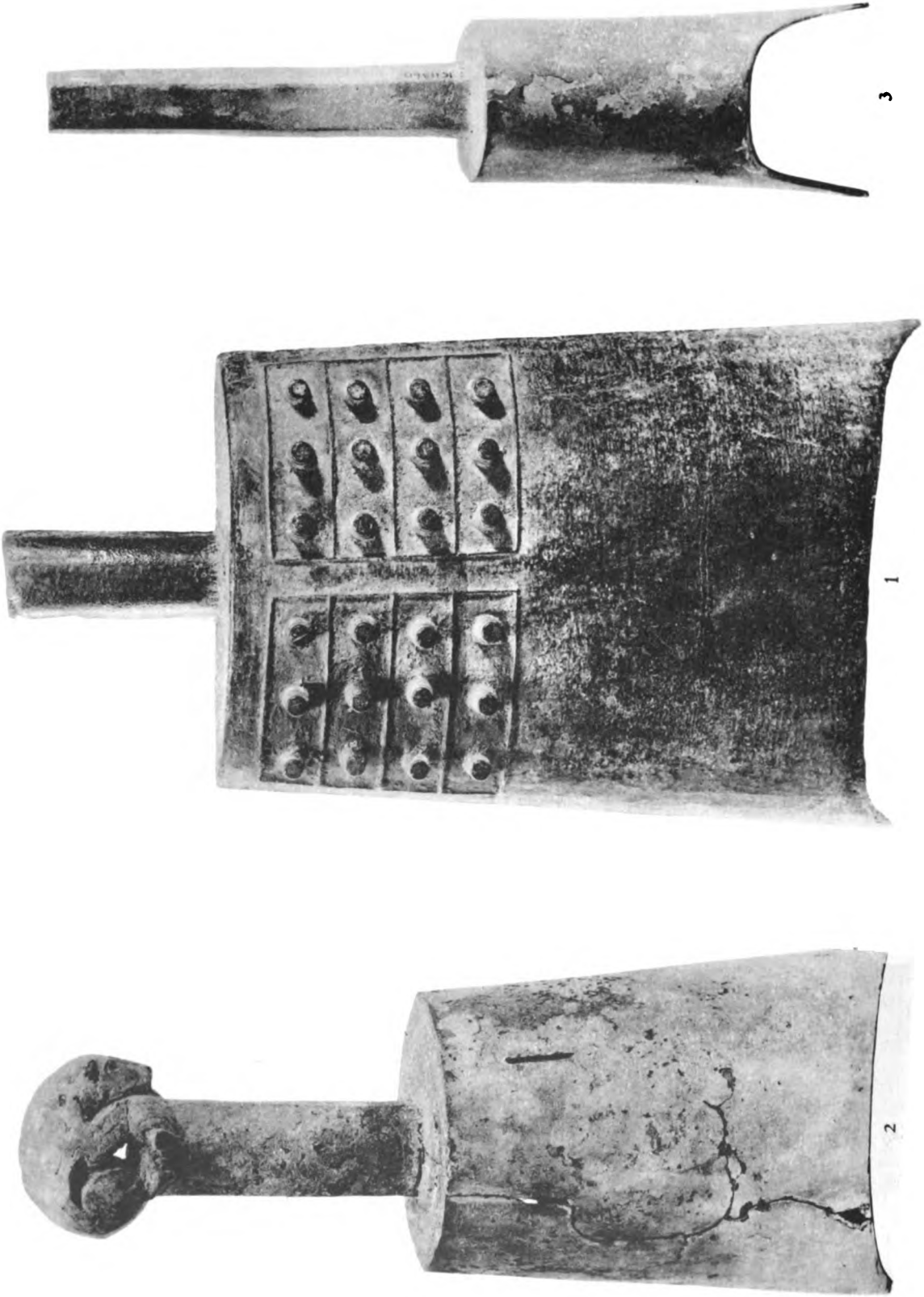




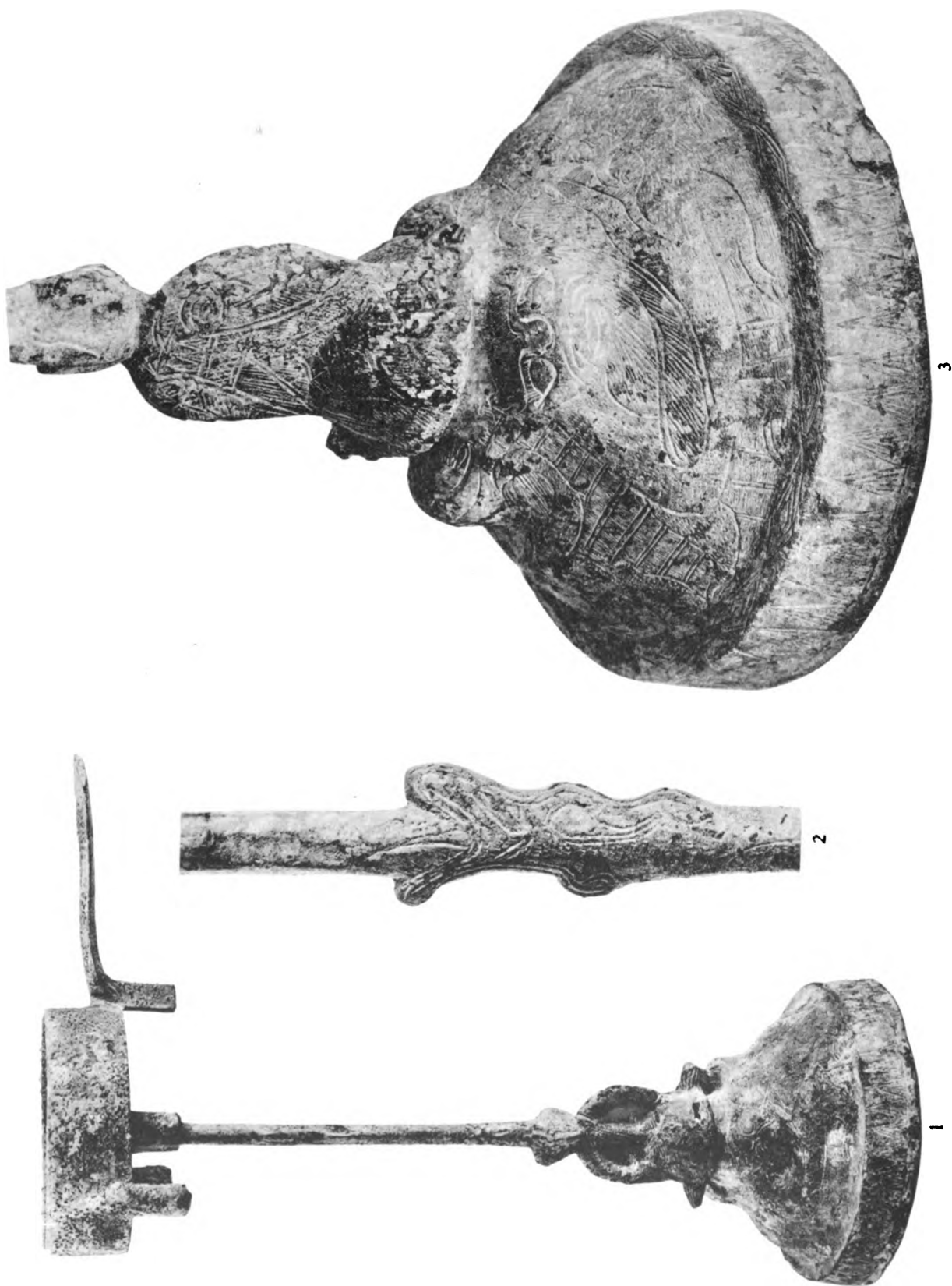












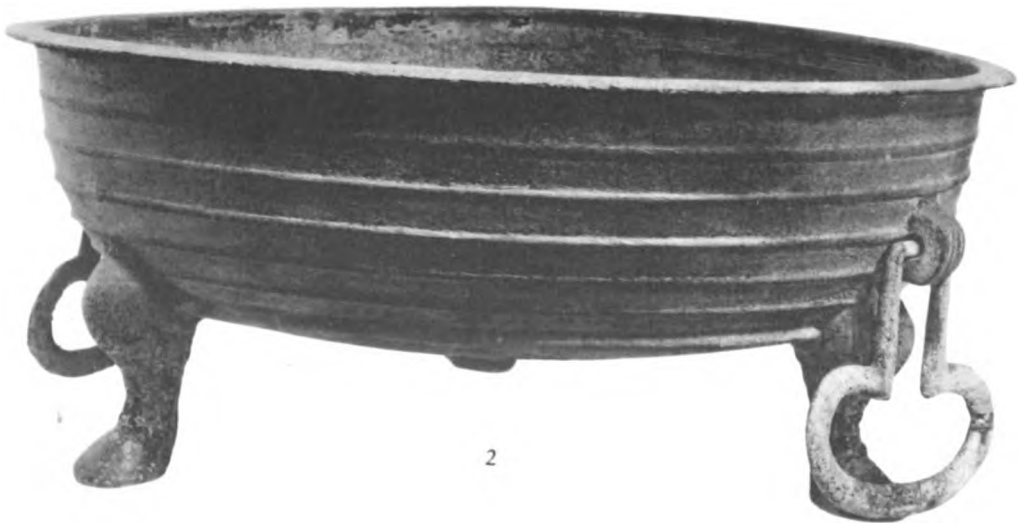




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A CARVED LACQUER PLAQUE OF THE LATE CHOU PERIOD

BY

FRITZ LOW-BEER

Carving seems to have been a favorite technique of the Chinese lacquer artisans at least since the beginning of the 15th century A. D. Chinese authors¹⁾ mention lacquer carvings produced during the Sung and Yüan periods, but I have never seen an authentic specimen of either period.²⁾ No carved lacquer is to be found in the Shosoin, and the very few, mostly fragmentary pieces of T'ang lacquer elsewhere do not add to our knowledge. During the Han and Late Chou periods, painted décor seems to have been the fashion, though a few pieces are known with decoration carved into the wooden core and lacquered.³⁾ No lacquer objects of any kind have yet been discovered which can safely be dated prior to the 4th century B. C. Thus, the earliest evidences of carved lacquer take us back to records published in the 14th century, which mention Sung productions, and no actual specimens previously known to me could be dated prior to Yung Lo's reign (1403—1424).

The plaque to be discussed here seems to provide evidence that the technique of carving in lacquer or a similar medium was known as early as Late Chou. The lacquer has not been chemically analyzed. The coating on the back looks like lacquer. The texture of the coating on the top is obscured by the carved design. This, plus its thickness, sets the plaque off from contemporary pieces, which have only relatively thin coatings of lacquer. It seems to me, however, that this coating too is lacquer or a very similar substance. Unfortunately, the provenance of this piece cannot be ascertained. It was said to have been given »many years ago» to a European residing in Peiping, who brought it to America before the war. This may have happened before the Ch'ang-sha site was known, though it does

¹⁾ Otto Mänchen-Helfen, *Materialien zur Geschichte des chinesischen Lacks*, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* No. 6, November—Dezember 1937.

²⁾ I am not wholly satisfied that the well-known plate from the Daitokuji monastery in Kyoto (*Japanese Temples and their Treasures*, Tokyo 1915, plate 500) bearing the mark of Chang Ch'eng is an original specimen of this Yüan master's work.

³⁾ Plate LXIII, *Pei-cha-tch'eng*, Wan-Ngan, in S. Mizuno & U. Okazaki, *Tombeaux des Han à Pei-cha-tch'eng et à Houei-ngan près des Kalgan dans la Région des Grandes Murailles*, *Archaeologia Orientalis*, series B, Tome V, 1946. Figs. 9—15 in *Zur Geschichte der Lackkunst in China* by Otto Mänchen-Helfen, *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, Band XI, Wien 1937.

not preclude a Ch'ang-sha provenance for the plaque. In any case, the plaque did not appear on the market with the Ch'ang-sha lacquers.

It has a diameter of $1\frac{5}{8}$ "; its thickness varies from $\frac{3}{8}$ " at the upper part, which seems to be in its original condition, to $\frac{1}{4}$ " at the lower part, where both the lacquer and the wooden core are worn away. The plaque is made of a wood core with relatively coarse fibres running parallel with the longitudinal axis of the lacquer design. Apparently the entire surface of the plaque was covered with lacquer. The coating on the top is about $\frac{3}{32}$ " thick at the highest point of the carving; the lacquer on the bottom and sides is quite thin, although it can be seen that it was applied in at least two layers. There is a suggestion of individual layers on the top, but I fail to discover anything conclusive. The lacquer is black on the bottom and sides; the top, though probably originally black, is now a dark olive gray. The top is flat, while the bottom is somewhat concave, probably due to warping of the wood.

Carved in the lacquer, the decoration, surrounded by a ridge-like rim of which only a small fragment remains complete at the upper edge, is arranged on either side of a longitudinal axis and also, less distinctly, divided into a smaller upper and a slightly larger lower part. The longitudinal axis is topped by a mask resembling a human face. In the face itself, the axis is continued in the center of the strongly pointed and slightly protruding lips and the nose, from which the rest of the face slopes downward on either side. Long sweeping raised eyebrows start from either side of the dot-like nose and extend over eyes with raised balls. Two raised lines, not quite meeting in the middle, separate the mask from the ridge-like border. A pair of C-shaped spirals with strongly pointed ends flank the mask, their inner extensions meeting at the longitudinal axis in two smaller Cs, back to back. The spirals are bordered by thin raised lines and divided into two longitudinal bands by a third similar line. These bands in turn are filled with slightly curved, parallel striations. These are replaced by herring-bone striations in the extensions of the C spirals ending shortly before the smaller C shapes. In the lower section, the longitudinal axis is emphasized by a thin incised line forming the center of a herring-bone striation in the upper half and ending in some slightly raised curved lines. These lines cannot be defined any further, because of the damaged condition of that section. This axis is flanked by two inverted C scrolls similar in general to those above. These, however, have no visible extension, possibly owing to the fact that the outer borders of the piece where these would logically extend are in poor condition. The bands of the spirals bordering on the center have an area of scale-like décor. The corresponding area on the right band of the right spiral has no decoration at all; the corresponding area on the left band of the left spiral is damaged. The left and lower section of the lacquer surface of the plaque are completely missing. In the area adjoining the lower right spiral a piece of lacquer is deposited which seems to have been part of the coating of the under side.

The style of the carved décor suggests a Late Chou date, but it is difficult to find exact parallels in material within the period. The aspect of the plaque as a whole, with its bold C spirals on a vertical-horizontal axis, suggests a relationship with the mirrors of Karlgren's category B.¹⁾ The five mirrors show boldness of design, the details being of large scale in relation to the size of the mirrors. Mirrors B1—B3 show opposing T'ao t'ieh masks facing outwards. B4 has a small T'ao t'ieh at the top with dragons and phoenixes below on either side. B5 has large volutes with animals. The T'ao t'ieh mask of B4 appears similar in position and scale to the demon mask on our plaque — the conventionalized dragons and phoenixes of B4 replacing the spirals on ours. The volutes with diagonal striations and raised ends on the mirrors in this group are closely related to the C spirals on the plaque.

I have been unable to find any close parallels for the demon mask itself. On the handle of a kuei in the Freer Gallery²⁾ is a human face with strongly protruding lips and accentuated eyebrows. The general treatment of the face on the bronze is much more naturalistic than that of the demon mask on the plaque, however. Another mask, possibly animal or demon, appears on a fragment in the Hellström collection.³⁾ It also has broad protruding lips and heavy eyebrows, but there again the similarity to our mask ends. It must be emphasized that both bronze masks are of much earlier date than the plaque could possibly be.

The B group of mirrors with which this plaque is most closely related stylistically is tentatively dated 6th—5th century B. C., by Professor Karlgren. In view of the fact that stylistic evidence alone is frequently unreliable and that we scarcely have any other lacquers which could be ascribed to so early a date, I hesitate to place the plaque earlier than the 4th century B. C. Even so, it may well be the earliest lacquer object found so far.

The shape, size, and the fact that it is carved only on the top suggest that the plaque was used as a decoration for a sword pommel.

¹⁾ Bernhard Karlgren, Huai and Han, MFEA Bulletin No. 13, Stockholm 1941, Pl. 8.

²⁾ Freer Gallery of Art, A descriptive and illustrative Catalogue of Chinese Bronzes, by John Lodge, A. G. Wenley and John A. Pope, Washington 1946, Pl. 20.

³⁾ Bernhard Karlgren, Bronzes in the Hellström Collection, Pl. 28, No. 1, MFEA Bulletin No. 20.

SHIH-T'AO, PAINTER, POET AND THEORETICIAN

BY

OSVALD SIRÉN

I.

The momentous epoch in the history of Chinese painting which covered the last decades of the Ming dynasty and the first generation under Manchu rule, when large sections of the country were still in a state of unsettled political conditions, received its special artistic character mainly from a number of highly original painters who lived as monks or hermits in their temples or mountain huts in the South. Their art just as well as their mode of living reflected their detachment from the world and their opposition to all forms of actual officialdom and traditionalism. Their pride was to stand absolutely independent, unpolluted by the new political masters of the country, and they lost no opportunity of manifesting in words and acts their unshaken loyalty to the fallen national dynasty. This becomes most evident from their written statements, which often contain political allusions, but it seems also as if their highly individualistic, not to say erratic, modes of painting had been nourished by the same spirit of independence and romantic longing away from an evil world which haunted them and carried them far into the limitless realms of their creative imagination.

Many of the best known among these men entered Buddhist and Taoist orders so as to escape from the turmoil of political contests and from the eventual humiliation of being obliged to work for the foreign conquerors. This was the way chosen by Chu Ta, better known by his *hao*, Pa-ta Shan-jen (active circa 1630—50), by Fang I-chih, called Hung-chih after he became a monk, by Fu Shan (1605—1684) who became a profound student of Taoism, by Chiang Tao, better known by his priestname: Hung-jen, by K'un-ts'an or Shih-ch'i, who used the signature: Ts'an Tao-jen, in spite of the fact that he served as abbot of a Buddhist temple, and also by Tao-chi, called Shih-t'ao, whose life and artistic activity will be discussed in the following pages. Other painters of the same generation retired into far away mountain huts, out of reach of common men, where they could devote themselves undisturbed to philosophical studies and to the play with brush and ink. This was the case of Chang Feng, who at the fall of the Ming dynasty renounced his official degree, retired from public life, and «lived in utmost poverty in a hut which was hardly large enough to allow him to sit down», and of Hsü Fang, who

subsisted on leeks and pumpkins which he raised in a small garden and refused to accept gifts of money from his friends.

To all these and a number of other painters who are here passed over in silence, since we are not aiming at any complete presentation of this momentous epoch in the history of Chinese painting, the collapse of the national government and the loss of the ancient (almost sacred) territory to foreign invaders was like a personal blow, a catastrophe which deeply affected their lives as well as their art. This becomes evident also through some of the inscriptions on their paintings, as for instance in the following words by Pa-ta Shan-jen: »The ink-drops have no spirit; the tear-drops are many; the mountains and streams are still as of old The brush may paint the mountains and streams, though the territory is lost».

This same painter, who was a descendant of the imperial Ming family, was brought almost to the verge of insanity through the political events. According to some of the contemporary records, he simulated madness and wrote the character *Ya* (signifying dumb) in large size on his door; thus escaping undesirable inquirers. No less effective were the methods of K'un-ts'an, who sometimes »lived at the very top of the Yu-ch'i (Peaceful solitude) mountain where he closed all doors and windows of his hut, retiring into complete silence with only a small kettle and a table»; and at other times took refuge on the knotty branches of a sturdy old tree, as may be seen in one of his pictures to which he added a significant inscription containing the following lines: »In a world of turmoil, how can one find rest? You ask how I came hither? I cannot tell. Staying above, I look down. My body is resting high up on the branches of a tree without any trouble like a bird in its nest». Was there ever a haunted painter in the Western world who hit upon the idea of living in a tree? It would have seemed too strange and uncomfortable to him, while the method no doubt was less extraordinary to a Chinese painter who, after all, was used to look upon the world from above, so to say, and to spread out his representations below. The picture is worth remembering as a historical document and an illustration of the psychology of these strange painters.

Their passionate desire for detachment from the »dusty world» led, as we have seen, many of them into the arms of a religion in which they could find seclusion and peace for the heart. Their painting became thus »true Buddha incense in an empty world», to quote the phrase that Chang Feng sometimes added to his signature. The religion which they adopted had however very little, if anything, in common with the practices of the popular buddhist sects; it was of a more delusive and mystic bend, a form of the meditative buddhism, known as Ch'an (or Zen), in which much of the old native taoistic ideas had been absorbed. It was less the philosophical tenets or teachings that interested the painters than the attitude towards Nature which was fundamentally pantheistic, inspiring the search for the spiritual significance or vitality beyond the ever changing appearances of the objective world.

This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the often paradoxical statements and methods of taoism and Ch'an buddhism, but it should be remembered that they were conducive to the development of intuition rather than of the intellect. In the Lankawatara sutra, the foremost scripture of the Ch'an buddhists, the intuitive mind is characterized as the link between the universal all-compassing mind and the differentiating mind (of the individuals), which is dependent on sensuous perceptions and tied to the phenomenal world; to quote: »While it is not an individualized organ like the intellectual mind, it has that which is much better: direct dependence on the Universal mind. While intuition does not give information that can be analyzed or discriminated, it gives that which is far superior: self-realization through identification.»

The quotation seems indeed appropriate in this connection because it offers, so to say, the key to the psychological problem of the painters under discussion: they were all trying to reach the direct knowledge of or dependence on the Universal mind, which is another way of saying »self-realization through identification». — Real knowledge is obtained only when the knower is able to identify himself completely with the object or problem to be known, something which is never accomplished through purely intellectual means. It is the result of a sudden illumination, the mysterious event that the Chinese call *wu* or *kai wu* (to become, to apprehend) and the Japanese call *satori*, and which is the immediate aim of Ch'an practices. According to T. Suzuki, the foremost Japanese authority on the subject, it means »the unfolding of a new world, hitherto unperceived in the confusion of a dualistically trained mind» — an inner experience by which the whole outlook of life is changed, also described by such metaphors as »the opening of the mind-flower», or »the removing of the bar».

It is easy to understand why this philosophy had such a great influence on the painters whose general aim was to transform inner experiences, ideas or emotions into visible shapes. The essential matter was not to them the descriptive representation of objective forms or the like, but to visualize the mind-impressions, or rather the intuitional flashes provoked by the thing or the event. This was, so to say, a repercussion of the universal life, the painter's realisation of a certain aspect of this which became to him an inspiring impulse. But in order to reach it, or obtain it, he had to attune his individual instrument, free it from the habit of dualistic definitions and speculative reasoning, so that it could register the vibrations of an inner life. And for this purpose the Ch'an training was considered most effective.

II.

When expressed in terms of pictorial execution this attitude led to a very spontaneous manner of ink-painting corresponding more or less to what the Chinese called *hsieh-i*, i. e. to write ideas or to record mental impressions in pictorial symbols. It is evident, as I have pointed out elsewhere, that no painter who did

not possess a full command of the technical means could transmit the momentary flashes of inspiring reflexes from the realm of the intuitive mind. The brush had to respond instantaneously and unremittingly to the pulse beat of the creative mind, and the material labour had to be reduced as far as possible without depriving the symbols (borrowed from Nature) of their expressiveness. The precondition was that the painter should have a clear idea in his mind of the thing that he was going to render — and then start quickly, move the brush firmly and unhesitatingly »as the buzzard sweeps when the hare jumps out — if he hesitates one moment, it is gone!», to quote Su Tung-p'o's advice in regard to bamboo painting.

Another no less suggestive definition of the *hsieh-i*-manner is offered by the painter Wang Yü in his treatise *Tung Chuang Lun Hua* where he writes: »In *hsieh-i*-painting the brushwork must be simple and clean. The design and the views should be such that when the brush stops short, the ideas are carried on.»

The term *hsieh-i* did not, strictly speaking, signify a special style or manner, but simply the quick and immediate transmission of thoughts or concepts in pictorial form. The degree of simplification was a matter of the painter's individual choice or temperament. The actual forms and patterns which he employed were largely conventional; the choice of motifs or symbols was fundamentally restricted by a long tradition, but within the limits there were almost endless possibilities for the individual temperaments — just as a musical composer has to submit to certain rules or conventions of tone-combinations in his creative work.

As may be ascertained through a study of the writings by some of the old painters as well as from the illustrated textbooks compiled for students of painting, the painters had to learn through a systematic training to master a certain range of natural forms or the like, such as trees and flowers, mountains and stones, clouds and waves, birds and insects, animals and human figures etc. which were considered most useful as symbols of expression for pictorial purposes. By mastering these (and perhaps specializing in certain fields) he was able to use them more or less as the musician uses his scales and arpeggios, his harmonies and disharmonies to convey thoughts or visions. It was a kind of training which demanded much perseverance and concentration but it was conducive to a formal and technical freedom, which finally enabled the painter to concentrate on the creative side of his activity and to express himself freely without being obliged to return to a model for each detail.

Hsieh-i-painting was in certain respects the final result or consummation of a method of study which had been developed in China during long ages and which formed a close parallel to the traditional training, or road followed in the study and practice of calligraphy.

The correspondence between painting of the *hsieh-i*-type and Chinese writing is so obvious and has been so often emphasised that we hardly need to go into it in detail. It is based on the fact, that these arts both had their origin in the use of more or less conventionalized shapes for transmitting mental images or intentions. But they

developed in opposite directions during the centuries. The pictorial symbols used in writing became gradually conventionalized to such a degree that their origin hardly could be recognized, and they were furthermore transformed by combinations with signs for sounds and abstract ideas etc. The symbols used in painting have also passed through cycles of development and been modified during various periods, but in a different direction: they have through a continuously renewed contact with nature become ever more expressive and adequate for pictorial purposes. Yet, just as the writer must know the exact shapes and meanings of the traditional characters, so must the painter be able to handle and use quite freely a certain amount of pictorial signs and compositional patterns in order to express his thoughts in forms which convey something beyond the shapes and have a pictorial significance. The possibilities of variation are here as many as the creative individuals; yet, the fundamental characteristics of the forms, borrowed from nature, must be respected, if they are to serve their purpose as symbols of expression.

The above remarks regarding the parallelism between certain forms of painting and writing in China must be sufficient as a general background for the discussion of Tao-chi's activity in these two fields, but before we turn to this extraordinary master, it may be of interest to observe one or two pictures by Pa-ta Shan-jen, Tao-chi's older contemporary, which illustrate in a formal way the affinity between painting and writing.

One of Pa-ta Shan-jen's bird-paintings representing a heron on the stump of an old tree is transformed into a pattern that has some likeness with a specimen of so-called »grass writing». The bird is rendered with a flowing sweep of the brush, without any breaks but with changing accents in the lines. There is a certain rhythmic flow in the strokes of the brush reflecting an individual character just as a specimen of good grass-writing reflects the pulse of the writer. No less important for the decorative effect is the spacing of the design, the balancing of the pattern in relation to the background, the interplay of black and white which produces an effect of space. Pa-ta Shan-jen's skill in this respect is proved by several of his minor bird-paintings. By placing a little bird on a leaf or on a wavy reed against the empty ground he produces an impression of space, or of a chilly emptiness in which the ruffled bird seems to be a symbol of the lonely and melancholy painter. (Pl. 1.)

It may be worth recalling in this connection that the great painter T'ang Yin, of the Ming-dynasty, drew some characteristic parallels between certain manners of painting and styles of writing. He said: »All those who are good in writing are also good in painting, because they are turning the wrist and moving the brush without restraint. *Kung-pi-hua* (i. e. highly finished paintings) are like *k'ai shu* (model writing, or formal style), whereas *hsieh-i* is like *ts'ao shu* (grass writing). It all depends on how the brush is kept and on how easily and wonderfully the wrist is moved.» — It may be added, that at that time a picture was not con-

sidered complete without an inscription in a style appropriate to the motif, and corresponding to the manner in which the picture was done.

A more important work by Pa-ta Shan-jen, is the large mountain landscape, lately acquired by the National Museum, Stockholm, which according to the inscription is a free rendering of a composition by Tung Yüan, the famous landscape painter of the tenth century. The very bold fundamental design with its broad mountain terraces, forming a diagonal range across the picture, and its tall withering pine trees in the foreground, is indeed of a kind that may be observed in several of the large compositions ascribed to Tung Yüan. But the pictorial effect is entirely different; it has become more unified, more strikingly powerful by the bold contrasts of black and white. The hazy atmosphere, the rich modulations of tone, the modelling of the mountain slopes, the minute rendering of the leafage of the trees and other refinements of a similar kind which contribute to the soft and rich pictorial effect of the old master's paintings are not to be found in Pa-ta Shan-jen's rendering of the landscape. The picture is almost entirely built up by sweeping brush-strokes, serving to define the forms, to infuse movement of life and to suggest space by contrast of black and white. The essential thing in this picture is no longer the design, or its pictorial beauty, but its transformation into a quasi-calligraphic *hsieh-i*-painting through which it has received an entirely new artistic significance.

Pa-ta Shan-jen just as the other strange painters mentioned above was sincerely interested in the old masters and studied their works quite closely, but their aim in doing it was never to copy or to imitate the pictures faithfully. The idea was to grasp «their spirit», the essential meaning of the old pictures and to render or recreate it in works of independent individual character. The veneration for «the old masters» was indeed inherent in all Chinese painters, independent of schools and periods, but there have been relatively few who like these painters of Pa-ta Shan-jen's and Shih-t'ao's type were convinced that they could surpass the old, even though they found them well worth of serving as guide posts along the road.

III.

Tao-chi, or Shih-t'ao, as he is commonly called by one of his many bynames, was thus, in spite of his striking originality as a painter and writer, by no means an isolated appearance. He had much in common with some of the other strange masters of the time, and his art was an expression for the same ideals as those cherished by Pa-ta Shan-jen, Fu-shan, K'un-ts'an and others, even though his lonely path led him far afield. A closer study of Tao-chi's individual achievements may serve to give us a better understanding of the whole movement to which he belonged.

The contemporary records concerning Tao-chi offer very little information about his personal life; they contain mainly traditional notes and appreciations of his painted work. The dates of his life are however approximately known through in-

scriptions on some paintings; the earliest of these, known to us, is of the year 1667, the latest one from 1714; which allows a period of no less than fortyseven years for his activity. According to a recent article on the chronology of Shih-t'ao's life (Shih-t'ao shang jen nien p'u)¹⁾ by the Chinese scholar Fu Pao-shih, he was born in 1630 and lived to the age of at least eightyfour. When the Ming dynasty fell in 1644 he was thus only a lad, but the succeeding years of political strife and internal fighting seem to have left deep traces on the mind of the youth.

The fullest account of Tao-chi's career is to be found in *Liu Ch'i Wai Chuan*²⁾ by a man called Ch'en Ting, who was active in the K'ang Hsi period but there is also a short note about him by Chang Keng, his younger contemporary, in the supplement to the well-known chronicle *Kuo Ch'ao Hua Cheng Lu*. It starts with an enumeration of all his various names: »Tao-chi, tzü Shih-t'ao, hao Ch'ing-hsiang Lao-jen, and Ch'ing-hsiang Ch'en-jen, Ch'ing-hsiang I-jen, Ta-ti-tzū, K'u-kua Ho-shang, Hsia-tsun-chê was a descendant of the prince of Ch'u of the Ming dynasty». His princely origin is also pointed out in *Liu Ch'i Wai Chuan*, where the biography opens with the following words: »Hsiap-tsun-chê, who had lost his personal name, came from Wu-chou in Kiangsi, and was a descendant of a prince Ching-chiang of the former dynasty. He was an upright character who did not like to bow down and look up to others. Sometimes he was boasting and overbearing, looking down upon everybody, sometimes very lofty and inaccessible. He would not condescend to anything that was corrupt and kept far from the people (of the world), so as not to become defiled».

After this introductory characterisation the writer goes on to tell that Tao-chi already as a youth showed great gifts for poetry and painting: »The people of Nan-Yüeh (Kuangsi-Kuangtung) treasured every scrap of his writings and paintings, esteeming them like luminous pearls. He did not give away his works easily; yet, scholars who possessed Tao received them without asking, whereas vulgar people tried in vain (to obtain pictures) by sending him hundreds of taels. This made him simply close his eyes and turn his head away without paying the least attention to their offers. Consequently he became much beloved by the scholarly men, but loathed by the common people. Even though calumnies filled his ear, he paid no attention to them».

The biographer then goes on to tell that Shih-t'ao »shaved his head and became a monk when the dynasty fell», a statement which may be quite true as a general indication, though not exact in regard to the date. According to the information reported above, Shih-t'ao was only a youth at the time of the collapse of the Ming dynasty. He could hardly have become a monk until a decade after that date. It is not definitely stated which of the buddhist orders he entered, but as

¹⁾ I am indebted to M. J. P. Dubosc of Peking and Paris for transmitting to me information about the contents of this article which is not accessible in Europe.

²⁾ Reprinted in Chao Tai Ts'ung Shu, V, vol. 42, and in Hashimoto's book on Shih-t'ao, Tokyo 1925.

he is called »the Ch'an monk« in some inscriptions, it seems most likely that he devoted himself to the meditative school of Buddhism, in which most of these painters sought refuge. His connection with the monastic order does not however seem to have been so close as that of K'un-ts'an for instance, who in his later years served as an abbot in a temple. Shih-t'ao may have passed some time in Ch'an temples, but he preserved complete individual independence and was evidently less inspired by religious devotion and monastic practices than by his poetic and artistic ideas. This impression which may be gathered from his works and writings is also born out by the following remarks by Ch'en Ting: »He followed early the call to Buddhahood but did not feel happy to 'wave the duster' and 'to grasp the staff' (the implement of the Ch'an monks), or by calling and crying out to heaven and men.« — The monastic life seems to have been a refuge rather than a heaven of peace and happiness to Shih-t'ao.

The fact that he called himself Ch'ing-hsiang Lao-jen, or Ch'en-jen, i. e. the Old man, or the Decrepit fellow from Ch'ing-hsiang, indicates that he considered this place in Huai-an fu, in Kiangsu, as his home, but he spent much time in travelling about the province and the neighbouring country. The other by-names or familiar appellations mentioned above may also be said to reflect certain characteristics or conditions of life. When entering the buddhist order he took the name Yüan-chi (meaning that he had found salvation) and the *tzü* Shih-t'ao (Stone wave), but his *haos* mentioned above were more telling: I-jen (the Hermit), Ta-ti-tzū (the Pure fellow), K'u-kua ho-shang (the monk of the Bitter Cucumber) and Hsia-tsun-chê (the Venerable Blind). »When someone remarked: 'Master has two bright eyes; why do you call yourself the Blind fellow?' he answered: 'My eyes are different from those of ordinary men; when confronted with money, they become blind. They are not as keen (greedy) as those of common men. Why shouldn't I call myself blind?'«

This anecdote just as well as the previously quoted statement that his pictures could not be acquired by money but were freely given away to those who possessed Tao, is indeed a telling illustration to his detachment from material conditions. Much of his later life seems to have been spent in travelling along the rivers in central China, more or less in the same way as Ni Tsan's 300 years earlier. Thus Chang Keng writes: »In his old age he visited the country along the Yangtzü and the Huai rivers; the people there received him with great respect, and many came to study with him.«

The same tradition is reported by Ch'en Ting in somewhat different words, as follows: »He travelled along the mountains and rivers all over the country visiting the Hsiao and Hsiang rivers (Hunan), the Tung-t'ing lake (Kiangsu), the K'uang and Lu mountains (Kiangsi), the Chung-fu (Nanking hill), the T'ien-tu mountain and the T'ai-hang range (Shansi), the Five Sacred mountains, the Four rivers and many other places, which all caused great progress in his painting and increased his skill in calligraphy.« — It may sound surprising that his wanderings and his

travelling along the rivers had such a beneficent effect on his painting and calligraphy, but this may be taken as an abbreviated statement for the fact, that his imagination was enriched and his range of motifs enlarged through his travels. — But he was not only a wandering monk; he spent considerable time during the latter part of his life in Yang-chou, where also (according to Chang Keng) most of his pictures were to be found. According to the Yang-chou chronicle by Li Tou (*Yang-chou Hua Fang Lu*), Shih-t'ao was active in this flourishing city on the Grand Canal not only »in painting landscapes and flowers in a very free fashion, according to his heart's desire» . . . but also »in piling up stones», that is to say, in composing landscape gardens with picturesque rockeries. As an explanatory addition to this note the chronicler writes: »Yang-chou is known for its gardens, and their fame depends particularly on their rockeries. Among them is the 'Garden of Ten Thousand Rocks' belonging to the Yü family (Yü-shih Wan Shih Yüan), which was composed by Tao-chi and is considered a most beautiful creation.»

Nowadays the famous gardens in Yang-chou, including those composed by Tao-chi, are all completely destroyed, and we have no longer any possibility of forming an opinion about their merits or the intentions of their creator, but as we know that the picturesque garden art of China at this particular time had reached a high state of perfection, we have reason to assume, that Shih-t'ao's creations in Yang-chou were truly wonderful of their kind. He knew, no doubt, how to express in living forms of nature just as well as with brush and ink something of that suggestive beauty which opens to the beholder, or the visitor, the gates to the dreamland of imagination.

The rest of the information contained in the biographical chronicles does not refer to special events or circumstances in Shih-t'ao's life but rather to the characteristics of his writings and his artistic activity to which we will return presently. Yet, Ch'en Ting winds up his biographical notes with a kind of summary in which he once more emphasizes Shih-t'ao's rather haughty and overbearing character and dislike of the common crowd. He writes:

»Those who are trying to improve the world and to break away from vulgar life are usually not in harmony with their time. They often arouse criticism by their endeavour to be perfect. Hsiao-tsun-chê held strictly to pure and noble principles and would never become like those who float like ducks on the water moving along with the waves. No wonder that he was disliked by the common crowd of the world.» — There was apparently no lack of reason for such dislike, because Shih-t'ao's noble principles did not include such virtues as soberness and cleanliness, which were much neglected by the geniuses of his type.

IV.

It is difficult to tell whether poetry or painting formed a more essential side of Tao-chi's artistic activity, because both arts were perfectly natural expressions for his genius and he used them often in combination on album leaves and other

minor pictures of an impressionistic kind. He was also a skilful calligraphist who mastered not only the current manners of writing, such as *k'ai shu* and *hsing shu*, but also the archaic *li-shu*-script, for which he became famous. Yet, it can hardly be doubted that his main training was that of a painter, and that his creative imagination painted pictures even when it found expression in words.

The old critics praise his manner of painting as exceptionally free and original and point out that he was more successful in his small sketchy pictures than in the larger compositions, a statement which is true as a rule, though with important exceptions. Like all these spontaneous *hsieh-i* painters Shih-t'ao could catch the essentials of a motif with a few rapid strokes of the brush and make it vibrate with life, but he could also build up a monumental composition in the tradition of Tung Yüan, or Kuo Hsi, or some other classic master, when it amused him to do so, but he was by no means always successful in such attempts, as witnessed by a number of his large pictures of later years.

An interesting characterization of Tao-chi's merits as a painter is given by Cheng Pan-chiao, a somewhat younger contemporary (1693—1765), who in a colophon on a picture by the master writes as follows: «Shih-t'ao was a prominent painter of many different kinds of subjects, and also among these were bamboos and epidendrams. I, Pan-chiao, have now during 50 years been painting only such things. While he was cultivating wider fields, I have been specializing, and why should not a speciality equal a wider field? Shih-t'ao's manner of painting was rich in transformations, eccentric and strange, yet he could also paint very fine and elegant works in which everything was properly arranged. If one compares him with Pa-ta Shan-jen, it may be said, that he fully equalled his predecessor and surpassed him in some respects. The fame of Pa-ta Shan-jen spread all over the country; why did not the name Shih-t'ao reach beyond Yang-chou? Pa-ta Shan-jen used only an abbreviated manner of painting, whereas Shih-t'ao's manner was refined and rich. Pa-ta Shan-jen had only one name, which was easy to know and to remember; Shih-t'ao's name was Hung-chi (apparently a miswriting for Yüan-chi) and he used the following *haos*: Ch'ing-hsiang Tao-jen, K'u-kua ho-shang, Ta-ti-tzū, Hsia-tsun-chê, besides others which all together caused confusion. Pa-ta Shan-jen was called only by this name, and I am called only Cheng Pan-chiao, thus not being able to follow master Shih-t'ao's example.»

Cheng Pan-chiao's explanation why Shih-t'ao, in spite of his great artistic merits which fully equalled those of Pa-ta Shan-jen, did not reach the same fame as his somewhat older predecessor, may seem a little strained or superficial, but it is thoroughly Chinese and may contain some hints of the truth. Shih-t'ao's use of half a dozen or more by-names was perhaps a result of his tendency to hide himself from the world and confuse the public. There were not a few of the painters who played a similar game and thereby concealed their identity.

Among the somewhat later critics, who have expressed independent views on

Shih-t'ao's paintings, should be mentioned Chang Keng and Ch'in Tzū-yung. The former, who was the foremost art critic in the Ch'ien Lung period, included some notes about the painter in *Kuo Ch'ao Hua Cheng Hsü Lu*, from which we already have quoted a few lines. He characterized Shih-t'ao's brushwork as «unrestrained and quite free of the old ruts», and says, that most of his pictures were to be found in Yang-chou. But in his final judgment he discriminates as follows: «His small pictures are excellent, but it is to be regretted that his larger compositions are not permeated by vital veins».

Chang Keng was apparently enough of an artist to realize that Shih-t'ao was a great painter, even though he could not avoid the conclusion that the master's large paintings were too sketchy or unstructural. The painters of Shih-t'ao's class did certainly not correspond to the official taste of the period; their works were rarely included in the imperial collections of the Ch'ien Lung period and later, and their names seldom registered in official records. When mentioned and appreciated by more independent amateurs, it was not because of their personal genius, but for secondary reasons, such as their skill in certain manners of painting and calligraphy.

Ch'in Tsu-yung, the author of *T'ung Yün Lun Hua*, a book which was composed in the early part of the 19th century, seems to have found Shih-t'ao very interesting as a painter but in order to substantiate his opinion he does not extol the natural gifts of the painter and poet, but his very close and successful studies of the old masters' works. His presentation conveys the impression that Shih-t'ao was a skilful traditionalist adhering to classical models as a painter as well as a calligraphist — a characterization which probably would have surprised the painter himself even more than it surprises us. Ch'in Tsu-yung's commentary runs as follows:

«Shih-t'ao who was a descendant of a prince of Chu of the former dynasty, formed his own school of landscape painting. His brushwork was quaint, his conceptions most excellent. All his paintings were executed in accordance with the old masters. How could he have attained such deep merit and strength, if he had not absorbed all the masters of T'ang and Sung in his heart and spirit? His bamboos, stones, plum-blossoms and orchids were all exceedingly wonderful. He was also a most skillful writer of *pa-fen* and *li shu*. — Wang T'ai-ch'ang (i. e. Wang Shih-min) said: 'South of the river there is no one equal to master Shih-t'ao' — words which express the highest praise. He wrote a treatise on painting, the contents of which are original and mysterious, all derived from the classic books».

The above quotation is perhaps more interesting as a characterization of the writer than of the painter whom he presents, not simply because he insists so strongly on the supposed traditionalism of Shih-t'ao but also because of the reference to Wang Shih-min, whose name was a kind of guarantee of proper academic taste. If he praised the artist, there could be no doubt about Shih-t'ao's importance as a painter! Ch'in Tsu-yung adds, however, the following appropriate remarks:

»As an artist he was like a brother of Shih-ch'i, but while the latter surpassed him by his frankness and severe restraint, Shih-t'ao was absolutely unrestrained and carefree like a bolting horse. The two master did not follow the same ideas, but they used the brush in the same way. The two Shih (Stones) had no successors».

It had at the time become customary to mention »the two Stones», i. e. Tao-chi and K'un-ts'an, together, not only because of the similarity of their appellations but also in consequence of the fact that both were descendants of the imperial Ming family who had retired from the world and devoted themselves to painting. They followed to some extent parallel lines in their activity, though we have no reason to suppose that they ever met. K'un-ts'an (Shih-ch'i) was the older and perhaps better balanced personality of the two, but Tao-chi (Shih-t'ao) seems to have been the more subtle and sensitive temperament with an incomparable faculty of expressing the essentials of a motif with a few strokes of the brush or in some lines of poetry. His impressionism had a more literary flavour than that of K'un-ts'an's manner which was more purely pictorial and firmly rooted in the older tradition.

The very subtle and versatile genius of Tao-chi can hardly be reached simply by a formal analysis of his paintings. They reveal his attachment to some of the old masters, his technical skill, his spontaneity and faculty of visualization and other pictorial qualities, but they cannot be said to open the gates to his vast realm of philosophical thought and creative imagination. Painting was hardly ever the only or principal occupation in his life, but rather a complement to his calligraphy, his poetry and theoretical speculations. Nor can it be said that his pictures, as far as they are known to us in original or reproduction, reveal some development or formal progress. His individual touch or brushwork may be observed in his earliest dated pictures, known to us, just as well as in the latest. If one is to speak of a formal development in his painted work, it may be traced in a tendency towards larger and more important compositions and a bolder manner of painting. But even this tendency which may be noted through a comparative study of his dated pictures is very relative and interrupted by exceptions. Quite independent of such possible modifications of style, it is, however, evident that Tao-chi preferred all through his life the smaller sizes to the larger ones; they corresponded to his faculty of a brilliant improviser and his spontaneous manner of painting.

The above noted opinion of Ch'in Tsu-yung, that Tao-chi had »absorbed into his soul and heart the T'ang and Sung masters, which was the reason for the excellent quality of his own paintings», was evidently an exaggeration (or rhetorical metaphor); yet not entirely without foundation. Among the pictures by Tao-chi, known in reproduction, are several which are marked, or otherwise evident, as imitations after certain old masters; one of the best examples being a large mountain landscape of traditional type »painted in green and blue» in the manner of Chang Seng-yu, the famous master of the sixth century whose works were so much admired by successive generations of landscape painters during more than

a thousand years. The picture is dated 1686 (thus, from a mature period in Tao-chi's activity), and though it is a very free transcription of an old design, it retains some characteristics of the early model and has indeed a considerable interest as a historical document. And this is not the only picture of its kind in Tao-chi's *oeuvre*; there are some other large landscapes, executed in colour, inspired by early models as well as minor pictures, in the shape of album leaves, as for instance the Sixteen Lohans (an album in the Palace Museum) which obviously are imitations after early famous masters; the Lohans possibly after Li Kung-lin.

One of the most significant examples of such imitative paintings by Tao-chi is the landscape with dry trees at the shore and a mountain peak in the background after Ni Tsan (in the Abe collection, Sumiyoshi). The picture (Pl. 3), which is of relatively small size, is dated 1697, and reveals the deep natural sympathy that Tao-chi retained all through his life for Ni Tsan, the master who better than any one else had succeeded in transmitting an atmosphere of quietness and unworldliness by his very simple grey landscapes. Tao-chi has here reproduced rather closely a design by the Yüan master transposing it pictorially in another key suggestive of a less cold and austere atmosphere than we find in Ni Tsan's works. His brush-work is softer, yet very firm and strong; the picture is imitative, reflecting the same admiration as expressed in the inscription which is written in the noble and beautiful *hsing shu* style which Ni Tsan developed. It contains the following poetic characterization of Ni Tsan's art:

»The paintings by master Ni are like waves on the sandy beach, or streams between the stones which roll and flow and issue by their own force (or: quite naturally). Their air of supreme refinement and purity is so cold that it overawes men. Painters of later times have imitated only the dry and desolate or the thinnest parts, and consequently their copies have no far-reaching spirit.»

This absolute spontaneity in the works of Ni Tsan which to Tao-chi was like a reflection of Nature's own pulse, such as it may be observed in the rolling of the waves or the whirling and winding of the streams, was the quality that Tao-chi appreciated above everything else in the art of painting. He has emphasized it time and again in his inscriptions and introduced it as a fundamental idea in his treatise. He might well have said: Without spontaneity there can be no art.

The influence of Ni Tsan's art on Tao-chi was considerable; it is to be observed in many of his minor paintings even when they are no direct imitations after designs by the Yüan-master, whereas Tao-chi in his large compositions is more dependent on Wang Meng. A good example of how Tao-chi transposed impressions of Ni Tsan's art in his own works is an album leaf, dated 1669 (formerly in Lo Chen-yu's possession), which represents two men, in taoist attire, conversing under a dry tree on a rocky shore. The dry tree and the rocks remind us of corresponding elements in pictures by Ni Tsan, and one may also find here something of the quiet atmosphere, or the »far-reaching spirit» that is characteristic of the Yüan master, but the figures, which serve to accentuate the meditative mood of the picture,

are additions by Tao-chi (Pl. 4); Ni Tsan's landscapes are always empty, entirely devoid of the human element; a fact which alone constitutes a characteristic difference between the two masters.

A less known work by Tao-chi to be remembered in this connection is the short scroll in the National Museum, Stockholm, which is dated 1686. Here too there are reminiscences from Ni Tsan — a winding river between rocky shores with bare trees — but they are joined to a rather fantastic mountain motif, represented on a different scale with a mass of details, such as cliffs and trees and peaks and gullies and gushing streams. According to the inscription, the whole thing was done quickly as an improvisation, but it seems almost as if there had been a break in the middle. Or did the painter have in mind to represent landscapes from the two widely separated parts of the country which are mentioned in the inscription? Here he writes as follows: »In the winter month of the *ping yin*-year (1686) I went (with a friend) to visit the tombs (?) and stayed over night in the abbot's room in the Yu-yü temple (the temple of the Elm trees). Chih-shan (i. e. his friend) told me that he would go down to the sea coast in Fukien next spring, and I myself planned to travel northward to Yu and Chi (places in Hopei). Chih-shan was sad as the day of parting was approaching. He took out a scroll of paper and spread it on the table. He did not say a word, but his intention was to ask me (to paint). I understood it in my heart — lighted a candle and wrote down quickly (i. e. painted) this thing which will amuse us when we meet again. Ch'ing-hsiang Shih-t'ao-chi». (Pl. 5).

The majority of Tao-chi's pictures are such minor things, painted or »written down» on the spur of the moment to amuse a friend, to celebrate an event, or to serve as a record of some memorable place where the painter had stayed during his travels »along the mountains and rivers». They were often brought together into series or albums of eight or more leaves and completed by inscriptions, relating to the sceneries or expressing some more abstract thoughts on painting. Quite a number of these albums have been made accessible to students in facsimile reproductions, published in China and Japan (cf. our List of reproductions) which have served to make Tao-chi better known and appreciated both at home and abroad. A few of these should be mentioned here.

One of the most interesting minor albums (in the collection of K. Sumitomo, Tokyo) is entirely devoted to Huang Shan, the wonderful mountain in Anhui, which seems to have exercised a great fascination on the painter. He must have lingered here during long periods, absorbing on the film of his pictorial consciousness the awe-inspiring peaks and chasms of this gigantic structure. He has painted several important views from here not only on album leaves but also of larger size. But these are not, strictly speaking, of a descriptive kind; they retain the fundamental features of the strangely silhouetted terraces and precipices and of the knotty pines, which jut out of the mountain walls like startled dragons, or stretch right up to the clouds, but at the same time enveloped in an atmosphere which

makes them appear as visions detached from the material world. In other words, the elements of reality are quite definite but their pictorial expressiveness has been increased by the painter's brush which accentuates or omits the details in accordance with the demands of his creative imagination. (Pl. 6—7).

The lengthy inscriptions on these Huang Shan-views are mostly of a rather abstruse kind and consequently difficult to render in a foreign tongue, but occasionally there are shorter notes of historical interest as they offer some genuine glimpses of the painter's psychology. The following lines are written in minuscule characters close to a little man who is strolling alone in a deep ravine between towering mountain walls:

»Bones of jade, heart of ice, a man of iron and stone,
such is the master of Huang Shan, a subject of Hsien-yüan.»

Hsien-yüan being a by-name of the Yellow Emperor (Huang Ti), it is evident that the inscription is expressive of the painter's exalted patriotism as well as of his loneliness and indifference towards the surrounding world. The great and inaccessible mountain region was to him the proper realm.

Tao-chi's attachment to Huang Shan and the long visits that he made to the temples in this fantastic region became evidently an inspiration not only to wonderful paintings but also to poems of a more or less descriptive kind. In some of these he describes the famous pine-trees of the mountain, which »grasp the clouds with iron claws like dragons rising from sleep», in others he describes the blossoming plum-trees: white and transparent like floating shadows »dispersing and meeting under the moon». Another mountain scenery he describes as follows:

»The mountain path is leading from the sky.
I wish to ride upon the wind in boundless space:
to live among the peaks and gullies. —
I have no fear of any dangerous paths.
Within the vault, the bluish clouds are rolling.
The peaks are red, the cliffs are bold.
How can I tell it all, or paint in words
the scarlet leaves now scattered by the frost?

* * *

More varied and complete than the views in the Huang Shan album are the landscapes which fill the somewhat larger album (in the collection of Mr. Sakuragi, Tokyo) which is provided on one leaf with the date 1691. The pictures are in the shape of broad rectangles, more or less like sections cut out of longer scrolls, but they do not form a continuous view; each one represents an independent motif.

To a Western amateur they are among Tao-chi's most attractive works, because of their closeness to nature and the brilliant pictorial qualities. Very telling in this respect is the broad river view with some low fishermen's cottages on the grassy promontory in the foreground. The buildings as well as the hillocks in the foreground and the mountain ridge on the other shore are painted with strokes of the brush, which serves to accentuate the cubic quality of the forms, whereas the leafy trees and other growth on the mountains is painted with washes of deep ink. A picture like this could almost have been painted by Claude Lorrain; though it may be doubted whether Claude ever reached the same degree of absolute mastership in the handling of the ink. In Tao-chi's picture »the brush brings out the fragrance of the mountains and the water; the colouring suggests a vast expanse of misty trees«, to use his own words, whereas in Claude's sketches the main accent is on the decorative effect, produced by the opposites of black and white. (Pl. 8).

In the other example from the same album, here reproduced, the view is transposed into a more imaginative picture by the sweeping band of mist and the whirling rocks suggested by the peculiar brushwork. It is a grand view of a temple-compound in the mountains; of the actual buildings only a few roofs are seen through the mist, but the men at the gate and on the path leading over the pass are clearly indicated and so are the pine-trees which grow along the edge of the cliffs. None of these or other details are, however, of much importance in the ensemble because they are more or less swallowed up by the unifying atmosphere and the whirling movement of the brush. The painter has succeeded in giving something more than the visual impression of a grand mountain view with temples half hidden in the mist; his sweeping brush and richly modulated ink have served his creative imagination by which he, so to say, has entered into the inmost recesses of Nature and felt the impulse of its moving and expanding forces. His picture expresses something of this wonderful experience, an almost dramatic pathos which makes it reminiscent of Wang Meng's greatest works.

Among the albums by Tao-chi there are some devoted entirely to flower paintings, i. e. light and fugitive motifs rendered impressionistically in small pictures which offer little material for description. (Pl. 9). Whatever the motif may be, some hibiscus flowers or plum blossoms, chrysanthemum or epidendrum at a rockery, some sprigs of bamboo, or some torn banana leaves, they are transposed in impressions of light and shade, of inner movement and growth; they are all reverberating with the resonance of the forces of Nature which the painter transmitted through the touch of his brush. They are painted in the most spontaneous, supreme *hsieh-i*-manner; yet, the characterization of each species of flower or plant is clear and definite, and there is no lack of strength or decision in the traces of the brush when such qualities are required, as for instance in the bamboo paintings. In this connection should also be recalled the picture in the National Museum in Stockholm which represents three budgeoning bamboo shoots growing out of the grass and in their midst a slender stem with a few leaves rising in a

curve: a picture strangely suggestive of the sap of spring that makes the shoots come out of the soil. The inscription contains a reference to Su Tung-p'o's famous bamboo paintings.

It may sound as a paradox, but it is nevertheless a fact, that the expressiveness and beauty of Tao-chi's paintings are in many instances mainly the result of their empty parts. These parts which consist of nothing but the white paper suggest an undefinable space which is not equivalent to emptiness but to a *pleroma* of life. It is filled with a reverberation or resonance of the life-imparting universal breath, which the Chinese call *ch'i* or *ch'i-yün*, and which they have considered as the foremost condition of good painting ever since Hsieh Ho established his famous «six principles» at the end of the 5th century. — But there are no rules, no advice for painting this; it is something which is implied or evoked by the relation of the empty portions to the painted parts, the interplay of emptiness and fullness, of movement and balance, of contrasts and repetitions. The forms which are rendered by the brush in lines and tones seem to appear out of the void and disappear again into it as the thoughts are shaped and dissolved again in the consciousness of the painter. They may be forgotten but they have left some indelible traces in the consciousness just as the strokes of India ink made by the brush cannot be changed or effaced, as they are absorbed instantly by the paper. The *hsieh-i*-painting may thus, also from a technical point of view, be characterized as «idea writing», or a parallel to the reflective and productive activity in the painter's mind. And if the painted forms thus may be said to correspond to the thoughts of the painter, the background on which they appear is like his consciousness. The brush cannot paint this and therefore it may seem like emptiness, but when properly balanced and proportioned in relation to the forms, it becomes an individual reflection of the great space, or universal consciousness, which is full of life and meaning.

If we keep these view points in mind, it is easy to understand why the painters of Tao-chi's type had a preference for such motifs as wide stretches of water, in part hardly indicated with the brush and limited only at one or two points by bits of a rocky shore and possibly some tufts of reed or bamboo. (Pl. 10). To make the wide view more impressive or more measurable one or several small boats are sailing into the picture from the foreground detaching themselves as silhouettes against a limitless expanse of water and sky which finally blends with the empty paper. Pictures of this kind correspond to what the Chinese call «poems without words»; they retain the resonance of lyric improvisations and lead our thoughts towards similar pictures in words which are not uncommon among Tao-chi's poem. The following may here serve as an example:

»The night is near, a little boat afloat.
A song is heard; the moon is not yet out.
The waves of autumn rise with snow-white caps.

The rushes are reflected in the cool water.
A certain man escaped in the middle of the stream;
Far from the world of dust.»¹⁾

One of Tao-chi's most important albums, due to the excellent quality of the paintings and to the philosophical ideas expressed in some of the inscriptions, has lately been acquired by the Museum in Boston (formerly in the collection of Mr. Ch'ên Tieh-yeh, Shanghai). It contained (according to Shi-t'ao Meigwafu) originally nine vertically composed leaves, representing landscapes of rather varying kind, most of them being executed simply with ink, but some with slight addition of colour. As one of the inscriptions is dated 1703, they may be considered to belong to a relatively advanced period in the painter's development, a time when he had reached the consummation of his technical skill and was able to express freely all the varying moods of Nature. Two or three examples may serve to illustrate this.

In one of them he has given a very harmonious, not to say lyrical, expression of the quiet mood of Nature on a late summer night when the fishermen are walking home through the high grass on the river bank to their cottage, which lies half-hidden under some wind-swept trees. (Pl. 11). The mist is hanging low; it covers the mountain side and the river valley, but the silhouettes of distant peaks and ridges appear above the mist-curtain leading the eye further and further towards the background, into a limitless space. The mountain silhouettes and the transparent haze are indicated with thin washes of ink, tinted with light blue, if I remember right, but the actual background is the white paper which here, as in others of Tao-chi's pictures, serves, so to say, as the sounding board for the music or, to change the metaphor, as the film of consciousness on which the thoughts appear in pictorial shapes. — By the inscription on this leaf the painter has himself indicated the poetic mood, or vision, which may have been the source of inspiration:

»The jade-green grass that reach the waist is covering the path.
A bamboo-gate, half open; the creepers hidden in the dusk.
The moon appears above the river village where dogs are barking.
The fishermen are walking home with torches in their hands.»

If we turn from this harmonious and refined interpretation of a peaceful evening mood to the other leaf in the same album which, according to the inscription, represents some rapids of Huang Ho (»the river that falls from heaven and reaches the sea«), we enter a different world, or a different region of the painter's imagination. (Pl. 13). Here the great forces of Nature seem to be in full action, the scenery is turbulent, boisterous, full of dynamic force. The surging waters of the great river have made their way through a narrow gorge between the rocks

¹⁾ Allusion to Ode 129 in the Shih Ching.

and rush downward in a succession of whirling rapids. The painter has caught the movement of the restless water in light, curving strokes, set off against the broad planes of the rocks, which are rendered with dark washes and heavy strokes of a stumpy brush. But all along the slopes of the cliffs and in their crevices are fluttering tufts, as if of feathers or grass, which seem to be patched in with a flying brush. They may be taken to represent the trees and shrubs of the mountains, though interpreted in a very free *hsieh-i*-manner to accentuate the pictorial effect rather than the illustrative value of the representation. The painter's aim has not been to give a close illustration of all the details of the great motif but to render its dramatic grandeur with a few significant strokes and patches which seem to retain something of the dynamic forces of Nature as reflected in the sturdy rocks and the turbulent water. — Tao-chi's paintings are no descriptive representations of actual landscapes; yet, they retain enough of the inspiring character of certain sceneries to make them convincing and beautiful also from a naturalistic point of view.

The relative dependence on objective scenery is quite varying in the studies of this album, some of them being more imaginative, others more naturalistic. To the latter class may be counted the rather soft and diffused picture of a river view with a man in a boat. The foreground is set off with some large dark stones; the growth of water-plants — lotus and others — is abundant between them and continues out on the river, reaching the opposite shore, where it appears only like vague shadows through the haze. The mountain silhouette in the background suggests the space beyond. The whole scene is swept in the atmosphere of a very quiet summer evening. (Pl. 12).

The painter has provided this landscape with a poem which, though it hardly can be said to describe the scenery, strikes the same musical note as the picture. It may be interpreted as follows:

»There is music in this landscape . . .
He who grasps it is the heart.
Springs that wash the feet of cliffs,
open with refreshing coolness to the mind and ear.
When can I remove my dwelling,
plough and angle midst the distant clouds?
As I think of it, my heart is filled with longing.
Winds of spring are blowing while the moon is rising.

Some of the other leaves in the same album are less remarkable for their pictures than for the highly original inscriptions with a philosophical import that the painter has added on them. They serve to throw some light on his aesthetic attitude even when they have no immediate connection with the picture to which they are added. Quite significant in this respect is the inscription, written in the archaic *li shu*-

manner over a pleasant, not to say idyllic, picture representing a village in the mountains somewhat after the manner of Shen Chou. It expresses one of the fundamental thoughts which are further developed in Tao-chi's theoretical treatise, to wit: »Before the ancients established any rules (method), I do not know what rules (method) they followed. After the ancients had established rules (a method), the later (present day) men were not allowed to (or: could not) step out of the method of the ancient. So it has been for thousands of years; and that is the reason why later (present day) men have not surpassed the ancients. They are simply walking in the footsteps of the ancients, but do not grasp the heart (essentials) of the ancients. No wonder that they cannot rise above the ancients. What a pity!«

Tao-chi nourished, as a matter of fact, great contempt for the methods and rules of his contemporaries; they were, according to his notion, slaves under conventions, whereas he had established a method of his own which was practically equivalent to complete freedom. But although he considered himself superior to all his famous predecessors of historical times, he did not find it superfluous to imitate some of them quite closely, as already pointed out.

This attitude of self-assurance is further illustrated in a longer and more explicit inscription on another picture in the same album. It is written in a very free *hsing-shu*-style on the top of a landscape which consists of craggy rocks enclosing a stepped mountain path where a solitary wanderer is strolling along. Without being dependent on any predecessor's work, it has some relation to the art of the early Sung masters, but Tao-chi himself considered it evidently as highly original.

»In this Tao (painting) the conception is penetrating and original; the brush must be let free to move in a sweeping fashion. Thousand peaks and ten thousand valleys appear in one glance; when looking at them at a distance, they take form and come out naturally like sudden lightnings and driving clouds. With which of the names: Ching or Kuang, Tung or Chü, Ni or Huang, Shen or Chao¹) could this be associated? I have seen all the famous masters, they usually imitate certain (old) masters, and follow certain schools. Writing and painting are born from Heaven, but one man must handle them for each generation. Who could tell where it started?«

Ta-ti-tzū wrote this for Hsiao-weng, the aged friend». (1703.)

Tao-chi accentuates here again the fundamental condition of great art which resides in its spontaneity, the seemingly effortless flow of the forms which may be compared to sailing clouds or lightening, or — to return to our earlier metaphor — like the thoughts in the painter's consciousness. Such art (be it writing

¹) All these men were famous landscape painters of the Sung, Yüan and Ming dynasties to wit: Ching Hao (ca 900—960), Kuan T'ung (10th cent.), Tung Yüan (end of 10th cent.), Chü-jan (10th cent.), Ni Tsan (1301—74), Huang Kung-wang (1269—1354), Shen Chou (1427—1509), Chao Meng-fu (1254—1322).

or painting) is a product of Nature or 'born from Heaven', and the painter is only the transmitter, a vehicle for the great forces of Nature; his aim should be to act as such consciously. If he knows how to do it, he will be independent of all schools and models, even though he must study the old masters as a help and guidance for the technical development. Tao-chi was anxious that his originality should be recognized; yet, he was no revolutionary in his art, but essentially a traditionalist, like all Chinese painters. His great admiration for predecessors like Ni Tsan and Wang Mêng has been noted, but in spite of it all, his art reflects the kind of genius that is born from heaven and never can be tied by any human rules.

* * *

We have limited our studies of Tao-chi as an artist mainly to minor pictures, album leaves and the like, because they are more easily accessible and better adapted for small reproductions than the larger ones. For a more comprehensive study it would however be necessary to turn to a number of the large compositions as well, of which a fair number have been reproduced in Japanese publications (cf. our List of reproductions), but it would require more space and larger reproductions than are possible at this place.

Judging by the dated specimens, the larger pictures become more frequent towards the end of Tao-chi's career and they reveal more clearly Tao-chi's limitations as a painter. They are more unequal in style and quality; the individual genius of the artist is here less predominant than in the minor pictures. Some of them contain reminiscences of his studies of old masters like Tung Yüan, Chü-jan, Kuo Hsi, Mi Fei, and Wang Mêng, others are of a more independent type but loosely jointed in design as well as in tone as if the painter had changed his ideas while he was working on a single picture. This may not necessarily imply a loss of significance or individual expression, but it makes them less satisfactory as pictorial compositions. Yet, it is evident that Tao-chi at certain moments was quite capable of creating by sustained effort great landscapes on a large scale, as proved for instance by the famous view of Lu Shan (in the collection of Mr. K. Sumitomo, Tokyo). (Pl. 14).

This truly monumental picture, which is rich in tone and strong in design, may indeed be called one of the most suggestive renderings of a deep and fantastic mountain gorge ever painted in China. The painter takes us here, as I have said elsewhere, right into the heart of the wild and inaccessible mountain where he stands himself on a rocky ledge looking into the bottomless gully which is filled with mist. Some knotty old trees grow at the lower edge of the picture, marking the foreground, while only the tops of a row of pines on the other side become visible above the mist. Beyond them the precipice rises steep, and here the water rushes down in foaming cascades divided by layers of clouds and circling mist. And high above it all, as a commanding master, rises a broad square peak, un-

approachable, forming the central motif towards which all the lines converge. The rising rhythm is accentuated by the tall cliff which projects into the picture from the right side, closing in the place like a huge cavern filled by phantoms of swaying mist and foam. The ceaseless movement of the water, the circling shapes of the clouds and the mist which play around the cliffs, the very rocks which re-echo the din of the cascades, fill the place with surging life. — The poetry of the conception has been carried to a remarkable degree of dramatic intensity, and found expression in a brush-work which brings out the structure of the cliffs no less successfully than the fleeting shapes of transparent foam and mist.

At the top of the picture there are two inscriptions, of which the one in particular has a considerable historical interest and should consequently be quoted here; it confirms the same trend of thought as some of the earlier quotations in which Tao-chi expresses his admiration for some old masters and at the same time his own superiority. He writes:

»People say that Kuo Hsi's paintings are based on Li Ch'eng's manner. He gave the effects of clouds and mist appearing and disappearing, of peaks hidden and visible, and stood quite alone at the time. In his early years he painted in a very careful manner, but in later years his brush-work grew bolder. I have seen in my life more than ten pictures by him which the people all considered good, but I did not express any opinion on them, as I did not find in them a very penetrating manner. Recalling my travels of former years and choosing Li Po's poem on Lu Shan (which he wrote for his friend Lu), I combined it in applying my own method with what I have seen myself and painted this picture. It seems that it could be comparable to the ancients. What need is there then of the old masters! Ch'ing-hsiang Ch'en-jen».

It is interesting to note that Tao-chi drew, at least in part, his inspiration for this great picture from a poem by Li Po (combining it with visual impressions), whereas the formal design or method of execution was adapted in accordance with the manner of Kuo Hsi, the great Sung-master, who interpreted »the great message of forests and streams» not only in magnificent paintings but also in words (recorded by his son). Tao-chi's admiration for the dramatic landscapes by a master like Kuo Hsi was no doubt deep and sincere, but, due to his exaggerated self-esteem, he seems to have found it necessary to conceal it under misleading words of depreciation. He knew certainly by experience the need of the old masters.

At the end of the biographical notes on Tao-chi, published by Ch'en Ting in his treatise *Liu Ch'i Wai Chuan*, mentioned before, the author quotes a colophon written by the painter on a landscape, called »A Spring River.» He has evidently chosen it as a comprehensive commentary on the painter's psychology and method of working, and it is indeed significant as such. It makes us realize how Tao-chi was applying the principle of self-identification (the aim of the Ch'an training) on his creative activity, trying to assimilate in his consciousness, or to become, the very essence or soul of the motif that he was representing. This mysterious

process can indeed be explained only by a metaphore, and Tao-chi does it in the following words:

»While painting this view on paper my heart (or, mind) entered the streams of spring. The flowers of the stream were opening, and the water was moving according to my wishes. I brought the scroll to the river-pavilion and shouted aloud: Tzū-mei (a by-name of Tu Fu). And lo! My shouts brought down the water (waves) and clouds. — Open the picture; it conveys by magic the very essence of the spirit.»

Any attempt to explain this miraculous event would simply serve to obscure its significance as a sudden glimpse from the creative consciousness of the painter. It makes us realize that his aim was to enter into the very heart of the things that he wished to render in pictorial symbols; and it leaves us wondering how this was accomplished.

V.

Tao-chi's prominent position in the annals of Chinese art is however, as previously stated, by no means based simply on what he produced as a painter but also on his accomplishments as a calligraphist, a poet, and a theoretician of painting, to which may be added his activity as a garden-designer, which was highly appreciated at the time particularly by the people in Yang-chou.

In some of his inscriptions he returns to the old dictum that »writing (i. d. calligraphy) and painting are the same thing» or, as he writes: »Writing and painting are no small Tao», by which he probably means that they both are expressions of a creative activity, fundamentally related, though differently developed as pointed out in a preceding chapter. In Tao-chi's case they were indeed closely connected and often used as mutual complements, though the calligraphist could hardly be said to stand on a level with the painter. The biographers praise in particular, as we have seen, his skill in certain archaic styles of writing such as *pa fen* (an intermediate form between the smaller seal-characters and *li shu*) and *li shu*. But if we turn to his inscriptions on paintings, we find that these only in exceptional cases are written in real archaic *li shu* script. The great majority are written in a much freer style, more or less akin to what is commonly called *hsing shu*. This may sometimes be rather loose, but it is not substituted, as far as I have been able to ascertain, by the real flowing *ts'ao shu*, or 'grass-writing'. Tao-chi had apparently studied very carefully the great calligraphists of earlier periods, and he could imitate successfully, when he so desired, Su Shih of Sung time, or Ni Tsan of the Yüan period, to name only two examples, but when he wanted to do something really refined and beautiful, he turned back to earlier patterns. Consequently he appears more archaistic as a calligraphist than as a painter; yet, supple and versatile rather than strong. The noblest of his writings are however characterized by a firm, upright rhythm even though the brush strokes are soft, reflecting a temperament which was at the same time stern and sensitive.

The poet has to some extent been introduced on the previous pages through a few short poems, written on, or adapted to, paintings which are representative of most of his poetical production. This has never been collected or published in China, but according to Hashimoto, there exists (in Japan?) an old manuscript from which he reproduces over fifty poems, some of which may also be read on existing pictures by Tao-chi. The great majority of these seem indeed to have been written in connection with paintings, either as dedicatory inscriptions (sometimes with references to past events or mutual memories), or as lyrical interpretations of the same or similar motifs as those represented in the pictures. They have thus in many cases been composed as complements to the painted views — like words to music — and should be read in connection with these, but even when separated, their visual beauty is sufficiently developed to convey quite definite impressions of such sceneries as Tao-chi also represented with the brush. As a final example of this pictorial quality in Tao-chi's poetry the following poem may be added:

»The trees along the mountain range are old.
 The shadows in the bottom of the gully dark.
 A solitary man is strolling through the bamboo grove.
 The traces of his wooden clogs are printed in the moss.
 Some climbing plants are blooming on the other bank.
 My heart, which searched far, has here found rest. —
 I take my flute and play an autumn air.
 The rays of setting sun are swallowed by the shadows».

As the poet, strolling along the mossy path, interprets the quiet mood of the autumn day on his bamboo flute and makes it reverberate through his words, so does the painter transmit it in symbols of visual beauty.

Tao-chi's individual genius can however not be fully appreciated without some knowledge of his theoretical ideas. They form a kind of undercurrent in his creative activity, appearing time and again as suggestive hints in some of his colophons and, further developed, in his treatise on painting, called *Hua Yü Lu*. This was published only some time after the painter's death (in 1728) by a man by name Chang Yüan, *tzü Yü Chiu-sheng*, and has been reprinted several times in later books in China, but remained little known to Western students, due to the fact that it is written in a rather obscure language interspersed with strange terms and references to taoist philosophy, which justify the remarks of the first editor: »Ta-ti-tzū has penetrated deep into the mysterious origin (of painting) and expressed original ideas of his own mind in a style which is old-fashioned and vigorous but very difficult to interpret.»

The difficulty of interpretation is however not merely a matter of style and arbitrary use of philosophical terms borrowed from confucian as well as taoist

writings but also a consequence of the writer's approach to the philosophical problems which is intuitive, i. e. detached from any kind of logical reasoning. He interprets the creative activity of the artist, which is the main theme of his discussion, as a reflex of, or a correspondence to, the operations of the great forces of Nature, the latter forming the macrocosmos which is reflected in the microcosmos of the man. These sweeping parallels are developed in various directions, leading to the painter's conception as well as to his formal or technical work, and serve thus as a general background for the appreciation of painting. We have noticed that. Tao-chi expressed similar ideas in some of the colophons in which he characterized the artistic activity of great masters, like Ni Tsan, as absolutely natural and irresistible — like the rolling of the waves on the shore — thus following the same trend of thought regarding the correspondence between the creative activity of man and Nature as expounded by philosophers of various ages in different parts of the world (such as Plotinus for inst.). But Tao-chi gives them his own colouring by tints borrowed from taoist philosophy.

Two other fundamental problems to which Tao-chi returns repeatedly in his treatise are: the origin of the art of painting, and how to establish a method or rule of painting which is so natural that it is equal to no method. The discussions of these problems involve also parallels of cosmic sweep of which we can give no report at this place. It should simply be noted, that the writer in explaining them remounts to a hoary antiquity, beyond the calculation of men, when Tao prevailed and the state of natural simplicity, or universal harmony, was unbroken. Then the *i-hua* (»one stroke painting«) was the natural medium of expression; from this all later manifestations of painting and writing have been developed. Consequently: »Calligraphy and painting are the two ends of the same pole; their merits are of the same kind. The original root of both is the *i-hua*.«

As these words of Tao-chi bring us back to the point from which we started in our study of painting as 'idea-writing' (*hsieh-i*), it may be appropriate to place here a temporary full stop.

PAINTINGS BY TAO-CHI KNOWN TO THE AUTHOR IN REPRODUCTION OR ORIGINAL

The dated pictures are mentioned first in chronological order; the undated ones are listed in accordance with the chronology of the publications in which they are reproduced; the non-reproduced are mentioned at the end of the list. The following abbreviated book titles have been used.

Chung Kuo Ming Hua = Same title, vol. 3—24 publ. by Yu Chêng Book Co, Shanghai 1922—24.

Shina Nangwa = Shina Nangwa Shusei, vol. I—III, each composed of 12 numbers. Bansuikan, Tokyo 1917—19.

- Sogen = Sogen Meigwashu. Illustr. cat. of exhibit. in Tokyo 1931.
- Shen Chou = Shen Chou Kuo Kuang Chi. vol. I—XXI, Shanghai 1908—12.
- Shih-t'ao Meigwafu. vol. I—VI. Juraku-sha. Tokyo 1936—37. (This is the last and most important collect. of repr. after Shih-t'ao's paintings probably including more volumes than we have been able to obtain.)
- Shina Meigwa Senshu = K'ao P'an She, Shina Meigwa Senshu. Bunkado, Kyoto 1926.
- K. K. Shu Hua Chi = Ku Kung Shu Hua Chi. vol. I—XLV, Palace Museum, Peiping, 1930—36.
- Chung Hua album (1932). Among the numerous individual albums publ. by the Chung Hua Book Co, Shanghai, are at least two devoted to album-pictures by Shih-t'ao; publ. 1932 and 1936.
- Toan = Toanzo Shoanzo Skogwafu (Cat. of Saito collect.). Hakubundo, Osaka 1928.
- Soraikwan = Soraikwan Kinsho (i. e. cat. of the Abe collect.). Hakubundo, Osaka, vol. I 1930; vol. II 1938.
- Ming Jen Shu Hua = Same title, vol. 1—26. Commercial Press, Shanghai 1920—25.
- Omura = Omura, Bunjin Gwasen. vol. I nr. 1—12. vol. II nr. 1—5. Tansei-sha Tokyo 1921—22.
- I Shu Ts'ung Pien = Same title, vol. 1—24. Kuang Ts'ang Hsüeh Chü, Shanghai 1906—10.
- Shen Chou Ta Kuan (continuation of Shen Chou Kuo Kuang Chi), vol. I—XVI, Shanghai 1912—22.
- Shih-t'ao Shang-jen Shan-shui Ts'e, 1924. One of the numerous albums publ. by the Yu Chêng Book Co., Shanghai, between 1916 and 1926.
- Chung Kuo = Chung Kuo Ming Hua Chi. 2 vol. Yu Chêng Book Co., Shanghai, 1909.
- Shih-t'ao Shan-shui etc. Individual albums publ. by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1923—35, Two of them are devoted to Shih-t'ao.
- T'ai Shan Ts'an Shih Lu Ts'ang Hua. vol. 1—10. Shanghai? (no date.)
- Shih-t'ao Hua Ts'e, and Ch'ing-hsiang Lao-jen Hun Ts'e. Two of the individual albums publ. by the Wên Ta Book Co, Shanghai 1924—25.
- Ming Hua Sou Ch'i, 1—2. publ. by Wên Ta Book Co., Shanghai, 1920—23.
- Fu-lu = Fu-lu Shu Hua Lu (Ch'en Han-ti collect.). Yenching University 1936.
- Mei Chan T'ê K'an = Same title. Publ. on the occasion of National Fine Arts Exhibition, Shanghai 1929.
- Shina Meigwashu. I vol. publ. by the Tokwasha, Tokyo 1922.
- Hakubundo albums; three of the individual albums publ. by this company in Osaka and Kyoto are devoted to Shih-t'ao.
- Toso = Toso Gemmin Meiga Taikwan. Illustr. cat. of the exhibit. in Tokyo 1929.

Hashimoto: Sekito (Shih-t'ao). Tokyo 1925. Historical notes on the painter and reprint of some of his writings. Illustr. with 26 small half-tones.

The pictures by Shih-t'ao listed in Hsü-chai Ming Hua Lu (cat. of the P'ang Yüan-chi collect.) are probably in part identical with some reproductions mentioned above.

List of Plantings:

Chung Kuo Ming Hua, 24. Epidendrams and other Plants. Long scroll. Poem by the painter, dated 1667.

Kokka 313. Two Men conversing under Bare Trees. Signed. Poem, dated 1669.

Kokka 263. A Pagoda on Rocks on the Shore. Signed, dated 1669.

Great Chinese Painters of the Ming and Ch'ing dynast. Exhibit. in New York, April—May 1949. (J. P. Dubosc collect.) Mountain landscape with waterfall. Signed, dated 1671.

Shina Nangwa III, 12. Landscape. Signed. Poem. Dedicated to Chou Liang-kung (who died in 1672).

Sogen 224. The Five Auspicious Plants in a Vase. Signed. Poem, dated 1675.

Shen Chou, XVIII. River winding between rocky Banks, Trees in the foreground. Poem by the painter, dated 1676.

Shina Nangwa III, 1. The Wu-i Mountain. Signed. Poem, colophon, dated 1681. Also in Shina Nangwa Taikwan, vol. 1.

Shih-t'ao Meigwafu, vol. 4. Wan Tien O Mo (Sprinkles of Poor Ink). Sections of Mountains with luxurious Growth and Buildings. Horizontal scroll. Poem by the painter, dated 1685.

Stockholm, National Museum. Imaginative Landscape. Short scroll. Signed, dated 1686.

Sogen 217. Landscape with a Man angling in a Boat. Painted in green and blue colours after Chang Seng-yu. Signed. Poem, dated 1686.

Shih-t'ao Meigwafu, vol. 1—5. Nine Landscapes from an album called Ch'ing-hsiang Lao-jen Shan Shui Ts'e. One dated 1691.

Shina Meigwa Senshu, 15. (Hashimoto Collect.). The God of Longevity. Poem by the painter, dated 1693.

K. K. Shu Hua Chi VI. Bamboos and Orchids. Signed. Poem, dated 1691. Stones by Wang Yuan-ch'i. Signed.

Chung Hua album (1932). Ten landscapes. Signed, dated 1695.

Soraikwan I, 43. Landscape after Ni Tsan. Signed. Colophon, dated 1697.

Ming Jen Shu Hua VIII. A man under a Wu-t'ung Tree. Signed. Poem, dated 1698. Also in Shina Nangwa III, 7.

Sogen 218. Bamboos and Orchids. Signed. Poem, dated 1699.

Shih-t'ao Meigwafu, vol. 2. View of Huang Shan. Horizontal scroll. Long poem by the painter, dated 1699.

- Chung Hua album (1936). Twelve landscapes with poems. Signed, dated 1699.
The first leaf shows Chu Ho-nien's copy after Tao-chi's self-portrait.
- Omura I, 9. Wooded Mountains on an Autumn Evening. Signed. Two lines of poetry, dated 1701. cf. I Shu Ts'ung Pien, 24.
- Omura I, 10. Shady Trees. Signed. Poem, dated 1701.
- Shina Nangwa III, 10. A Man with a Staff looking at Maple Trees. Signed. Poem, dated 1701.
- Sogen 215. Landscape in colours. Signed. Colophon, dated 1701.
- Sogen 214. Landscape. Signed. Poem, dated 1701.
- I Shu Ts'ung Pien, 14. View of a River between hilly Banks, a Man walking into the picture. Poem by the painter, dated 1701.
- Shen Chou Ta Kuan, vol. 11. A Scholar's Place among Bamboos in the Mountains. Signed. Dedicated to a man called Ch'iu Fêng in 1701.
- Shih-t'ao Shang-jen Shan Shui Ts'e (Yu Cheng Book Co., 1924). Eight Landscape studies. Signed and dated 1701.
- Shih-t'ao Meigwafu, vol. 2, 3 and 5. Nine Landscapes from an album called Ta-ti-tzũ Shan Shui Ts'e. One dated 1703.
- Shih-t'ao Meigwafu, vol. 4—6. Seven landscapes from an album called K'u-kua Miao-t'i Ts'e. One dated 1703.
- Omura I, 3. A farewell Scene. Signed, dated 1704.
- Tokwasha Shina Meigwashu, 16. River Landscape with two Sailing Boats, Pavilions built on the Water under Cliffs. Poem and colophon by the painter, dated 1706.
- Shen Chou X. Pine, Bamboos and Orchids by a Rockery, dated 1704. Signed. Poem.
- Chung Kuo II, 109. Epidendrams by a Stone. Small sketch. Signed. Poem, dated 1706.
- Omura I, 12. Looking at a Waterfall on a Rocky Ledge. Signed, dated 1708.
- Sogen 225. A Rockery, Chrysanthemums, Grape-vines, a Cabbage Plant, and Narcissi. Horizontal scroll. Signed. Poems and colophons, dated 1714.
- Shen Chou II. Hollyhocks and Tufts of Grass. Signed. Poem.
- Shen Chou XII. Illustration to T'ao Yüan-ming's poem »Returning Home«, which is copied by the painter.
- Shen Chou XIV. Two landscape sketches. Album leaves, each with a poem.
- Shen Chou, XV. A Man leaning against a Pine Tree by the Stream. Poem by the painter.
- Shen Chou, XIX. A Grassy River Bank, a Man with a Ch'in seated on a Terrace. Album leaf. Poem by the painter.
- Shen Chou Ta Kuan, vol. 2. A Misty Mountain Gorge. Poem by the artist.
- Shen Chou Ta Kuan, vol. 3. A Branch of Wild Tea Flowers. Poem by the artist.
- Chung Kuo II, 106. Fishing-boats on a River. Signed. Colophon. Also in Toso 416.

Chung Kuo II, 107. Landscape in Summer. Signed. Poem.

Chung Kuo II, 108. Cherries, Lotus-roots, and a Melon. Small sketch. Signed. Poem.

Chung Hua album (1932). Ten landscapes with poems. Signed.

Chung Hua album (1932). Twelve landscapes. Seals of the painter.

↓ Shih-t'ao Shan Shui Ching P'in (Commercial Press 1929). Twelve landscapes with poems and colophons by the painter.

Shih-t'ao Shan Shui T'u Yung (Commercial Press 1932). Twelve landscapes with poems by the painter. Additional writings by Ho Shao-chi (famous calligraphist, 1799—1873).

I Shu Ts'ung Pien, 14. A winding River; a Man walking on the Bank in the foreground, the further Shore rises in steep Cliffs. Poem by the painter.

Ibid. vol. 14. Tall Landscape, River between steep Cliffs and Trees. Poem by the painter.

Ibid. vol. 14. Bamboo Grove on the rocky Shore and Lotus Flowers. Poem by the painter.

T'ai Shan Ts'an Shih Lou Ts'ang Hua, vol. I. Bamboos by a Rockery and some Epidendrum Plants. Signed. The Bamboos by Tao-chi, the Rockery by Chu Ta.

Ibid. vol. II. A Lotus Plant. Poem by the painter. Album leaf.

Ibid. vol. V. An album of 12 leaves. Landscapes representing Cliffs, Mountain-streams (one with a large Rowing-boat) and Buildings by the Rivers. Inscriptions by the painter.

Ibid. vol. VI. An album of 7 vertical leaves. Landscapes representing River Views, Mountains, Cottages by Streams, mostly in Mist. Each leaf is accompanied by an inscription by the painter.

Shih-t'ao Hua Ts'e (Wen Ta Book Co., 1924). Ten landscape sketches, 1 picture of Bamboos and 1 of a Cabbage Plant.

Ch'ing Hsiang Lao-jen Hua Ts'e (Wen Ta Book Co., 1925). Ten landscape sketches.

Pa-ta Shan-jen Shih-t'ao Shang-jen Hua Ho Ts'e (Yu Cheng Book Co., 1924). An album of 3 pictures and several specimens of writing by Pa-ta Shan-jen and 12 pictures by Tao-chi.

Ming Jen Shu Hua IV. The Fairy Ma-ku. Signed.

Ming Jen Shu Hua XI. A Lotus Flower with Two Leaves. Signed. Poem. Also in Shina Nangwa Taikwan 12.

Ming Jen Shu Hua XIII. Bamboos and Bamboo Shoots. Signed. Colophon.

Ming Jen Shu Hua XXIV. Lotuses and Roses. Signed. Poem.

Ming Jen Shu Hua XXV. Two Boats on a River. Signed. Poem.

Ming Hua Sou Ch'i, I, 6. Two Hollyhock Plants. Poem by the painter.

Fu-lu. Epidendrum Plants. Horizontal scroll. Signed.

Mei Chan T'e K'an. Fantastically formed Mountain Peaks and rushing Water. Poem by the painter.

- Ibid. A Branch of a Rose Bush. Poem by the painter.
Palace Museum album (1935). Sixteen Lohans. Signed.
Kokka 493. Waterfall on Lu Shan. Signed. Poem, colophon. Also in Toyo XI,
Sogen 216. Kukwa II, and Shih-t'ao Meigwafu I.
Shina Nangwa I, p. 25. River Scenery. Album leaf. Signed. Poem.
Shina Nangwa I, p. 27. Bamboos. Album leaf. Signed. Two poems.
Shina Nangwa I, p. 28. Raddishes. Album leaf. Signed. Poem.
Shina Nangwa II, 2. Lotus Roots, Pears, etc. Album leaf. Signed. Two poems.
Shina Nangwa II, 6. Landscapes. Album leaf. Signed. Poem.
Shina Nangwa II, 12. Pomegranates. Album leaf. Signed. Poem.
Shina Nangwa III, 3. Bamboos and Lotus Flowers. Signed. Poem.
Shina Nangwa III, 5. Landscape. Signed. Poem.
Shina Nangwa III, 8. Landscape. Signed. Poem.
Omura I, 1. Landscape. Signed. Poem.
Omura II, 2—3. Flowers. Four pictures from an album of eight. Each with a poem.
Shina Meigwa Senshu, 14. (Fujii collect.). Misty River Landscape with a Bridge leading to Pavilions on the opposite Shore. Poem by the painter.
Tokwasha Shina Meigwashu, 15. Sprays of Bamboo and Plum Blossoms. Poem by the painter.
Ibid. 17. Extensive River View. Man in a Boat by the rocky Shore. Poem by the painter.
Hakubundo album, 1928. »K'u-kua Ho-shang Shen P'in». Eight landscape sketches, each with a poem by the painter: 1, A Homestead among Bamboos under a high Cliff. 2, Travellers in a misty Mountain Gorge. 3, A Sailing Boat on the River; Willows on the Shore. 4, T'ao Yüan-ming walking under Pine Trees. 5, A Boat moored under a Tree by a Dyke. 6, A Man in a Bamboo Garden, tall Trees in the foreground. 7, A Farmer with a Buffalo working in the misty Field. 8, Trees by a Stream and on the rocky Shores, Man in a Pavilion.
Toan 38. Two Imaginative Landscapes. Album leaves. Signed.
Toso 415. Landscape. Album leaf. Signed. Poem.
Toso 417. The Green Peaks of the South Mountain. Signed. Poem.
Hakubundo album (I-yuan album). Twelve pictures illustrating poems by Su Tung-p'o. Also in Shih-t'ao Meigwafu, vol. 5; one in Shina Nangwa I, p. 26; and in Shincho 22.
Hakubundo album. Eight Views of Huang Shan. Each with a poem. Also in Shih-t'ao Meigwafu; one in Sogen 219.
Sogen 221. Bamboos and Plum Blossoms. Signed. Poem.
Sogen 222. Four landscapes painted on one scroll. Signed. Four poems.
Sogen 223. Cloudy Mountain Landscape. Album leaf. Signed.
Sogen 226. Lilies and Lotus Flowers. Two album leaves. Signed. Poems.

- Shih-t'ao Meigwafu, vol. 1—5. Twelve landscapes from an album called Shih-t'ao Shan Shui Ching-p'in Ts'e.
- Ibid. vol. 1—4. An album containing eight Views of Huang Shan. Cf. Hakubundo album.
- Ibid. vol. 2—6. Nine landscapes from an album of twelve leaves, called Su Tung-p'o Shih-i T'u-ts'e. Completely published by Hakubundo.
- Ibid. vol. 4—6. Seven pictures of Flowers and Plants, from an album called Ch'inghsiang Lao-jen Hua-hui Ts'e.
- Ibid. vol. 5. A Stone Bridge in the T'ien-t'ai Mountain, after Wang Meng. Poem and colophon by the painter.
- Ibid. vol. 1. Waterfall of Lu Shan. Cf. Kokka 493, etc.
- Ibid. vol. 3. The Purple Jade Peak on Huang Shan. Poem by the painter.
- Shanghai. Chen Yung Collect. An album of landscape sketches.
- Stockholm, National Museum. A Bamboo Study. Signed. Colophon.
- Stockholm, National Museum. River Landscape. Signed. Poem.
- P'ang Yüan-chi Cat. 6. A Man sleeping on the Back of a Buffalo. Colophon by the painter. Pines, Stones and Chrysanthemums, by Chu-Ta. Signed. The Lan-t'ing Script copied by Chu Ta, dated 1634. The two pictures are mounted on one scroll.
- Ibid. Landscape. Horizontal scroll. Poems by the painter, dated 1680.
- Ibid. 10. Landscape. Poem by the painter.
- Ibid. 10. Playing the Ch'in to an Ox. Poems by the painter.
- Ibid. 10. Cloudy Mountains. Signed and dated 1702. Colophons by the painter.
- Ibid. 15. An album of 8 landscapes representing the Eight Views of the South Stream. Poems by Chu Yün-ming, copied by the painter. Dated 1700. Colophons by several contemporaries and later men.
- Ibid. 15. An album of 10 landscapes and 2 flower paintings. Last one dated 1700. Colophons by later men.
- Ibid. 15. An album of 10 landscapes. Some of them with poems by the painter, dated 1676, 1680, 1687.
- Ibid. 15. An album of 10 pictures: 7 of them representing flowers, the others landscapes. Dated 1695.
- Ibid. Add. 4. A long scroll divided into 7 sections representing flowers, landscapes and figures; accompanied by poems by the painter. Dated 1696.
- Ibid. Add. 4. Four album leaves representing landscapes mounted on one scroll. Each with a poem by the painter.
- Ibid. Add. 4. The Ts'ai-shih Cliff. Poem by the painter.
- Ibid. Add. 4. Chrysanthemum Plants by a Rock. Poem by the painter.
- Ibid. Add. 4. A Lotus Plant on its Root. Poem by the painter.
- Ibid. Add. 4. An album of 8 pictures: 6 of them representing flowers, the others a landscape and a figure composition. Poems by the painter.

LIST OF PLATES.

1. Chu-ta. Two studies of birds. Charles Hoyt collection, Cambridge, Mass.
2. Chu-ta. A large landscape after Tung Yüan. National Museum, Stockholm.
3. Tao-chi. Landscape with bare trees after Ni Tsan. Abe collection, Sumiyoshi.
4. Tao-chi. Two men under a bare tree. Dated 1669. Formerly in Lo Chen-yü collection.
5. Tao-chi. Imaginative landscape. A short scroll. Dated 1686. National Museum, Stockholm.
6. Tao-chi. Two views from Huang Shan. Album leaves. K. Sumitomo collection, Tokyo.
7. Tao-chi. A view from Huang Shan with a wanderer. K. Sumitomo collection. Tokyo.
8. Tao-chi. Two landscape studies. Leaves from a large album, dated 1691. S. Sakuragi collection, Tokyo.
9. Tao-chi. Two leaves from an album of flower paintings. Private collection, Tokyo.
10. Tao-chi. A little boat sailing over misty water. Album leaf. Private collection, Shanghai.
11. Tao-chi. Fishermen returning home. Album leaf. 1703. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
12. Tao-chi. A man in a boat on a misty river. Album leaf. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
13. Tao-chi. The rapids of Huang Ho. Album leaf. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
14. Tao-chi. View of Lu Shan. K. Sumotomo collection, Tokyo.



三
八



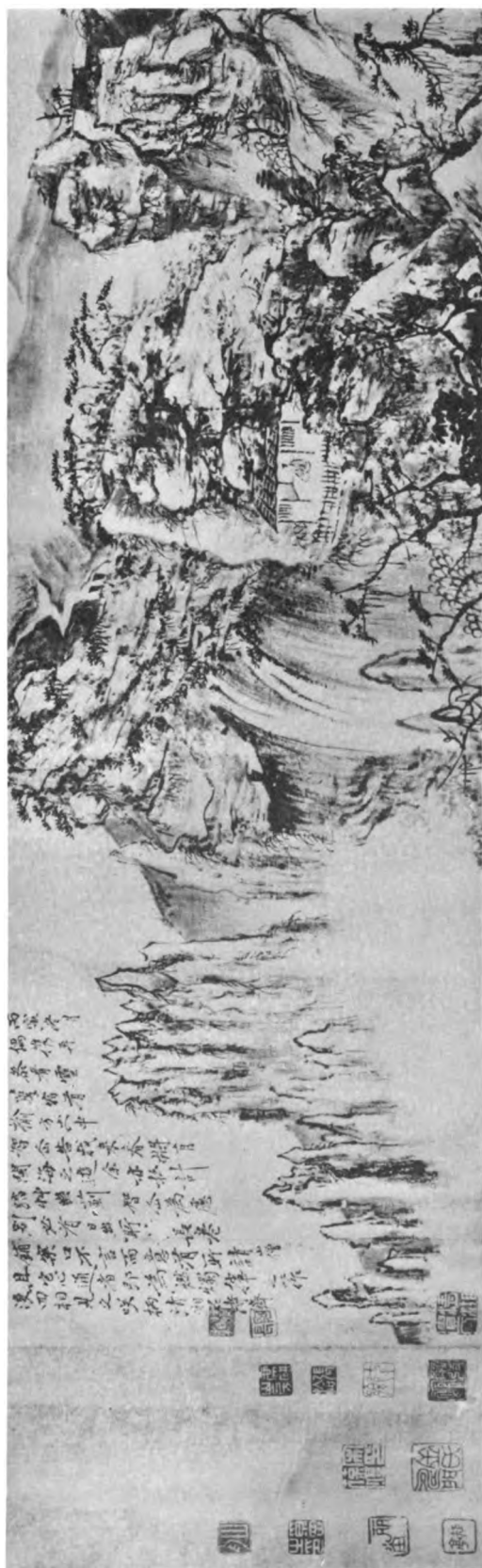
三
八



倪高畫如浪沙灘石隨
 轉隨注出乎自然而一段
 空靈清潤之氣冷逼人
 後世徒慕其枯索寒儉處
 此畫之所以無涼神也
 清湘老人苦瓜偶言









此奇平黃之略之奇
幽蹕操龍之盤旋數
金光過者飛也翠平翠
在毛銀胆則照池道人

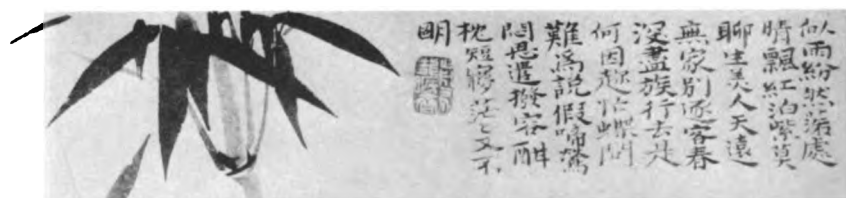
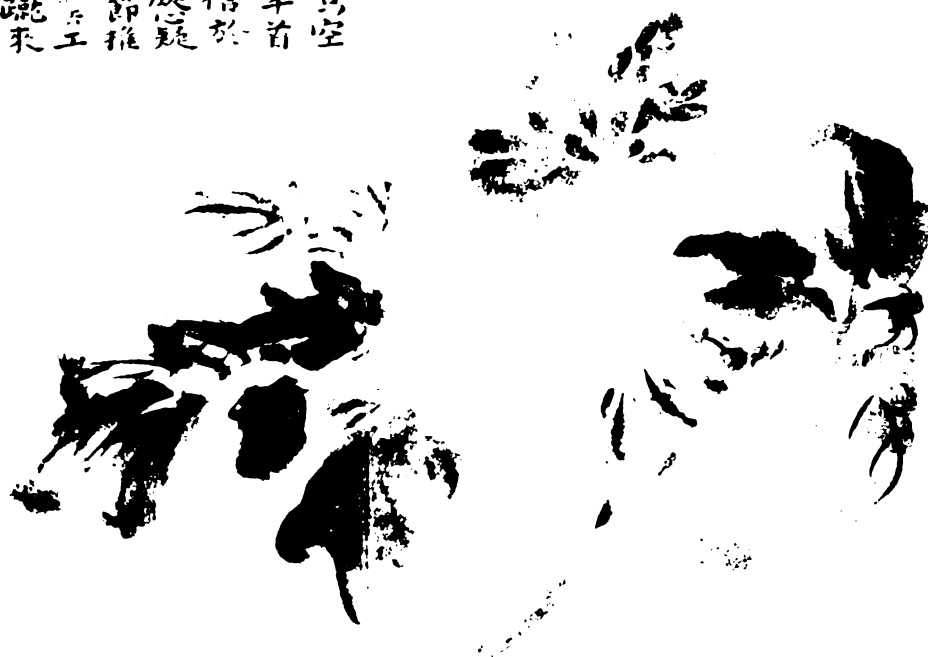
奇相異奇郡清輕示二筆援
 之校之東爭論攘我未遊觀不致門
 所中策亦喬逸風宮新呼起山之興
 龍旋旋化作燈下苔和萬片荒







分香散馬空
 臺紅粉三千首
 不回惡劫信於
 今日盡癡心疑
 有別家開即推
 懸燈馬聲五工
 都移舟燕曉來
 爛漫餘輝在地
 著謝承惟不
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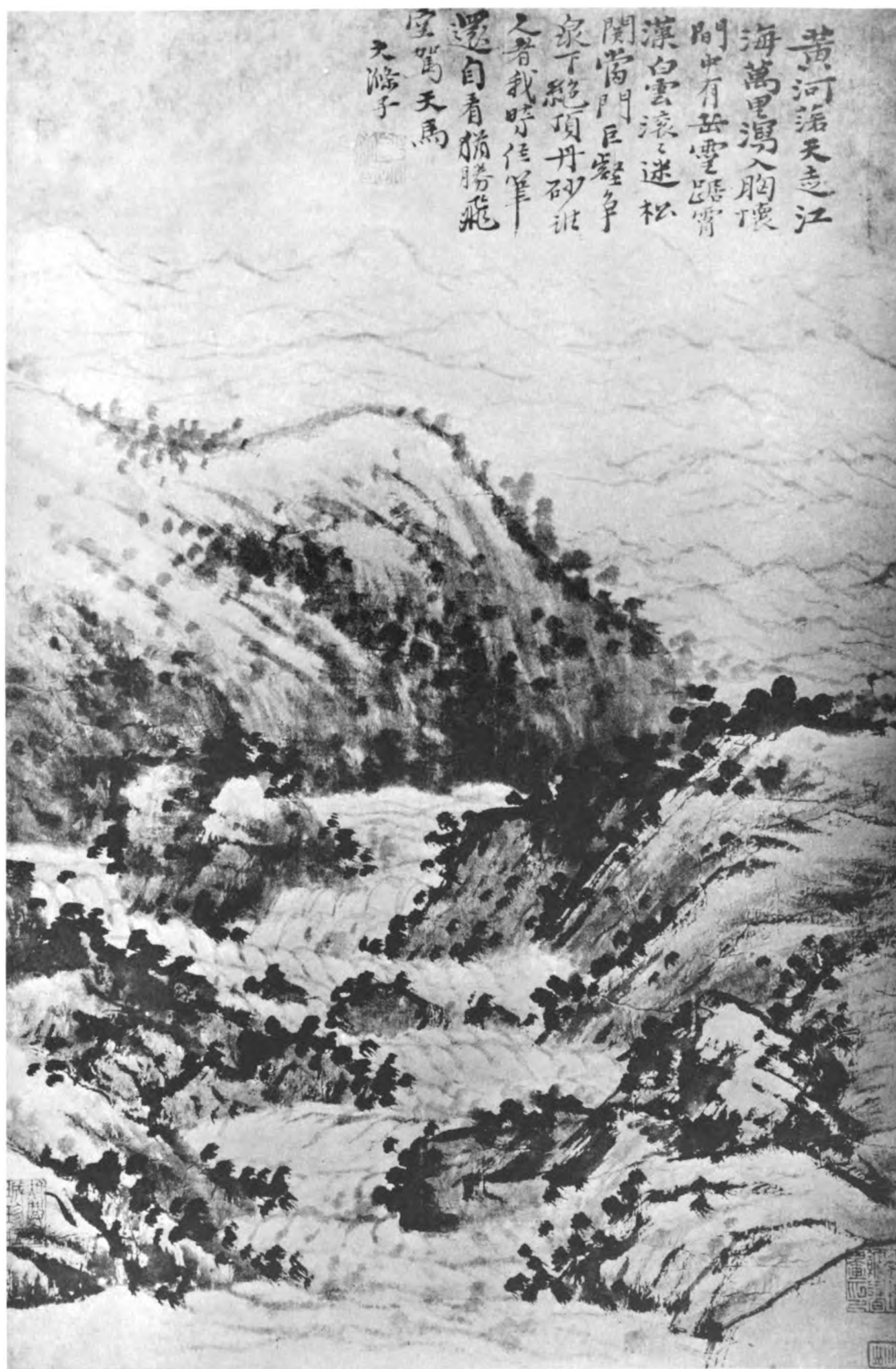


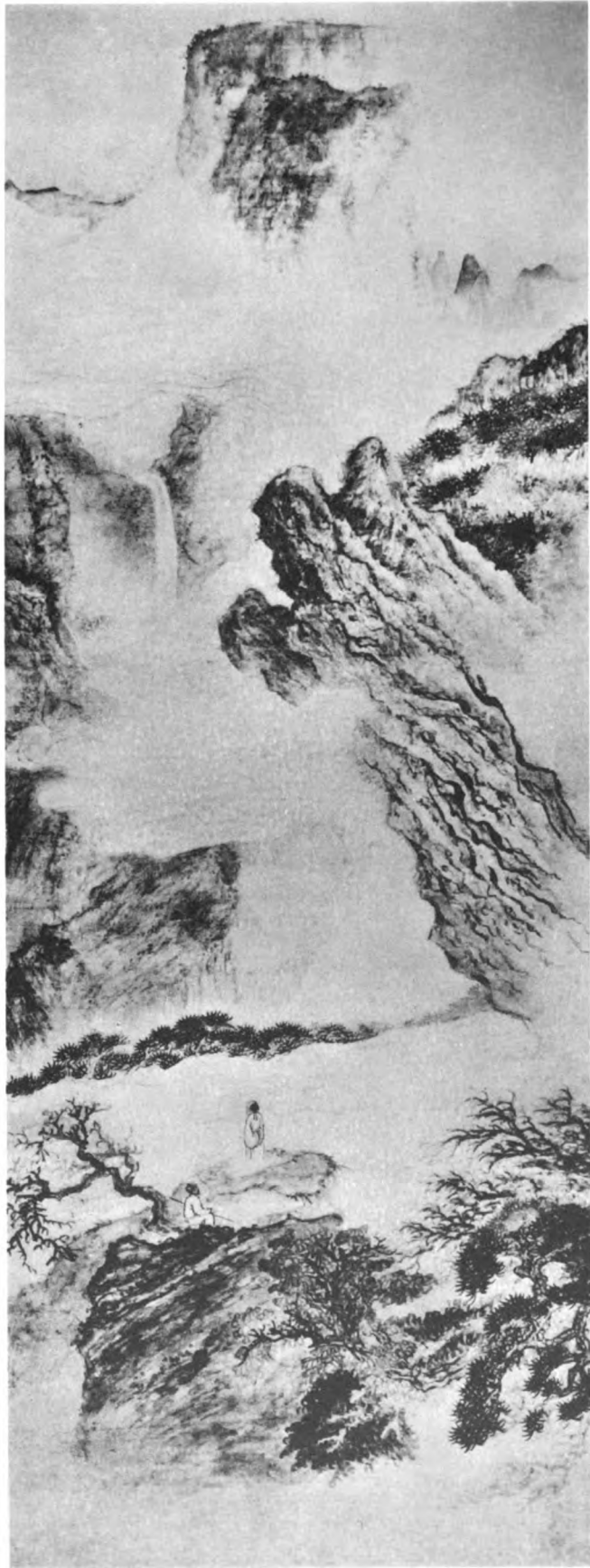


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GLOSSES ON THE BOOK OF DOCUMENTS

II

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

This paper is a direct sequel to my article *Glosses on the Book of Documents*, BMFEA 20, 1948.

Shao kao.

The oration in this chapter has traditionally been attributed, as indicated by the title *Shao Kao 1*, to *Shao Kung Shi 2*, as *T'ai pao 3*; but it should really be attributed to *Chou Kung 4*, see Gl. 1718 below.

1715. Yü e jo lai 5.

A. PK'ung says y ü e 6 = 7, and jo 8 has its full meaning of 9 'to accord with', so that the line equals 10 »in (accordance =) proper sequence he arrived«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: y ü e jo lai is an idiomatic expression (Legge wrongly believes Ts'ai meant: 'an empty particle') meaning: »By successive stages he arrived«. There is no support whatever for such a meaning of y ü e jo lai. — C. Wang Yin-chi has shown that we should connect this with the following: 11, and that y ü e - jo is a binominal particle (cf. Gl. 1207): »When it came to the 3rd month«. This is confirmed by Shu: Wu Ch'eng as quoted in Han shu: Lü li ch'i, phr. 12.

Nai yi shu Yin kung wei etc. see Gl. 1472. Jo yi ji see Gl. 1611.

1716. Ta kuan yü sin yi ying 13.

A. PK'ung: ta 14 = 15 'all-pervading, all through, all over, everywhere'. Thus: »All over, he inspected the disposal of the the new city«. Ta in this sense is common, e. g. Li: Chung yung 16 »The (all-pervading =) universal principle of the world»; similarly Li: T'an kung: 17. — B. Yü Yüe: ta means t'ung 18: »He (reaching to =) together with (sc. Shao Kung) inspected» etc. Much inferior to A.

1717. Shu Yin p'ei tso 19.

A. PK'ung: »All the Yin grandly started work«. — B. Kiang Sheng: tso = 20 (common): »All the Yin rose«. — C. Yü Sing-wu: p'ei 21 means 22: »All the Yin then rose«. P'ei has no such meaning. — A suits the context best.

1718. Yü e pai k'i shou 23.

A. From Han down to our days this with the whole following discourse has always been taken to be a harangue made by Shao Kung. — B. Yü Sing-wu cleverly points out that

召告 2 召公奭 3 太保 4 周公 5 越若來 6 越 7 於 8 若

9 順 10 於 順來 11 越若來三月 12 粵若來二月 13 達觀于新邑營 14 達 15 通 16 天下之

達道 17 三代之達禮也 18 同 19 庶殷丕作 20 興 21 丕 22 斯 23 曰拜稽首 24 錫周公用公曰

the very first words refute this. In the bronze inscriptions it is always the receiver of a laudatory gift who «salutes and bows the head to the ground» and «extols the grace» of the donor (king or other prominent man). Now Chou Kung has just received a laudatory gift from Shao Kung on behalf of all the princes: it must be Chou Kung who says: «I salute» etc. This is strikingly plausible. Yü believes that the two words Chou Kung must be repeated: . . . 24 »he gave them to Chou Kung; Chou Kung said». The skipping of the 2nd Chou Kung is easily explained; in Chou inscr. it would be written simply 25, and the repetition marks could easily have been lost in transcribing the text in Han time. Be this as it may, Yü's interpr. is excellent even without a formal repetition: »He gave them to Chou Kung; he (sc. Chou Kung) said». The subject is often understood in cases like this, cf. Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang (cf. Gl. 1576). That this is correct here is further confirmed in a following paragraph, where we find: »I, Tan, say»; the traditional commentators have here had to say that Shao Kung cites some pronouncement of Chou Kung Tan: »Tan has said»(!).

1719. Lü wang jo kung 26.

A. PK'ung: lü 27 = 28 'to set forth', and jo is a full verb: »I (sc. Shao Kung) shall set forth how the king (should) (accord with =) obey your Grace (sc. Chou Kung)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: jo 29 means 30 'and' (common): »I (sc. Shao Kung) display (the gifts) before the king and your Grace (sc. Chou Kung)». — **C.** In the light of the interpr. of the preceding line (see Gl. 1718) this should have a quite different purport. To the common formula in the bronze inscriptions, e. g. the Yü Kuei inscr.: »Yü saluted and bowed the head to the ground and dared in response to extol Mu wang's grace» 31, corresponds here pai shou k'i shou lü wang jo kung. Thus lü 27 'to set forth' must mean here the same as yang 32 'to raise, to publish, to extol' in the bronze inscription. Thus: »(He [Chou Kung] said:) I salute and bow the head to the ground and I extol the king and your Grace».

1720. Kao kao shu Yin yue tsī nai yü shī 33.

A. PK'ung as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »I announce and tell (you) all Yin (princes), and (functionaries) from the managers of affairs (downwards)». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »When I (sc. Shao Kung) make an announcement to all the Yin (people), tsī (it comes from =) it originates in your (sc. Chou Kung's) managing of the affairs». Legge has understood Ts'ai somewhat differently: »The instruction of the multitude of Yin must come from you with whom is the management of affairs» (properly »from you, the manager of affairs», Couvreur: »per te, curatorem rerum»). But that is inadmissible for nai is always in the genitive case. — **C.** Cheng Hūan's version (ap. comm. on Ode 240) has no tsī, reading: Kao kao shu Yin yue nai yü shī, which gives a very simple and natural meaning, since yue 34 is common = 'and' in the Shu: »I make an announcement to (you) all Yin and your managers of affairs». This is the oldest version attested.

1721. Yüe küe hou wang hou min tsī fu küe ming 35.

A. PK'ung: »Their posterior kings and posterior people (i. e. officers) here managed their mandate» — followed by: küe chung 36 »But in the end (i. e. under their last king) . . .». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en, without explaining the line as a whole, says that the whole phr. hou wang hou min refers to the last Yin king (a very curious idea), and Legge faithfully tries to apply this: »hou wang the king who had succeeded to them hou min the last of their race», which is plainly impossible. — **C.** Yü Sing-wu: fu 37 here means 38 'to think' (an attested meaning, see Gl. 4) and the line tsī fu küe ming küe chung forms a whole, the first küe meaning k'i 39, the second chī 40 (= 41): »Now if we think of the end of their mandate». But the sense given to the 2nd küe is impossible. — No reason to abandon A.

1722. K'ue chung ch'ī ts'ang kuan tsai 42.

A. PK'ung: kuan 43 = 44, this after Erya: kuan 45 = 44.

It seems that 43 is a comparatively late char., 45 being generally used as loan char. for the word kuan 'pain, suffer, miserable' (Kuo P'o in comm. on Erya quotes 46). We already had the word in K'ang kao: 47 »pain your body» (i. e. exert yourself intensely). But ping 44 is a word of many meanings and PK'ung interprets: »In the end ch'ī ts'ang the wise men hid themselves, and kuan the (defective =) vicious ones tsai (= 48) were (in the official position)», an absurd interpr. K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en make it worse by taking kuan = ping as a transitive verb (= 49 »those who pained the people»). Thus: »The wise men hid themselves and the tormentors were (in the offices)». — B. Sun Sing-yen insists that tsai simply means 'to exist, to live', and obviously it cannot mean tsai wei 48 'to be in office', with A above. We could then translate: ch'ī ts'ang the wise men hid themselves and kuan tsai miserably (existed =) lived. For tsai used in this way cf. Tso: Chao 12, phr. 49 »(Whereby =) how is he going to (exist =) live»? But this is rhythmically bad: ch'ī — ts'ang, kuan tsai. Now in Han shu the word ts'ang 'to hide' is regularly written without radical 50 (e. g. Li yüe ch'ī, Lü li ch'ī etc.) and Shuowen has no 51; and it is then but natural, the two characters being interchangeable, that sometimes ts'ang 51 has come to stand for tsang 50. In Yi: Hi ts'ī, shang, the phr. 52 »by knowledge he stores the past» was in Cheng Hsün's version 53, and Cheng interpreted accordingly: »By knowledge he (found good =) valued the past». It is very natural to take our ch'ī ts'ang here to stand for ch'ī tsang 54 (the Chou-time text having in all probability no radical, as usual), a binome of analogous words, and then we obtain a satisfactory rhythm: Ch'ī tsang — kuan tsai: »In the end, the wise and good men miserably (existed =) lived». — C. Yü Sing-wu: tsai 55 stands for 56: »The wise men hid themselves, kuan tsai, how painful!».

1723. Fu ch'ī pao pao hi ch'ī k'ue fu ts'ī 57.

A. PK'ung: pao 58 = 59 'tranquillize, protect': »The men know how to protect and carry in the arms and lead and support their wives and children»; a chiasma, pao pao referring to ts'ī children, and hi ch'ī referring to the fu wives. Wang Su tried to separate the two pao: »The men knew how to pao 58 protect (their families), in that they pao 60 carried» etc., which is even less satisfactory. — B. Kiang Sheng: pao 58 stands for pao 61 'swaddle' (etym. the same word, the fundamental sense being 'to wrap', hence on the one hand 59 'to protect', on the other 61 'swaddle'), which combined with 60 is evidently right. Further, acc. to Kiang, ch'ī 62 in Erya is defined as = 63 'a mate, a match, a spouse', and fu ch'ī means 64 'every man who has a spouse'. This is grammatically excluded, fu ch'ī cannot mean a 'man spoused', it should then be ch'ī fu 'a spoused man', always supposing that ch'ī had such a sense, or else we should have to construe it as a finite clause: fu ch'ī »if a man was spoused». But Erya's gloss refers to Ode 148, phr. 65 »I am glad that you have no (connaissance =) mates», see

25 易周.公曰 26 旅王若公 27 旅 28 陳 29 若 30 及 31 通拜稽首敢對揚穆王休 32 揚 33 諸告
庶殷越自乃御事 34 越 35 越厥後王後民茲服厥命 36 厥終 37 服 38 思 39 其 40 之 41 其命
之終 42 厥終智藏瘞在 43 瘞 44 病 45 鰥 46 鰥在 47 恫瘝乃身 48 在位 49 將何以在 50 臧 51
藏 52 知以臧佳 53 知以臧佳 54 智臧 55 在 56 哉 57 夫知保抱攜持厥婦子 58 保 59 安 60 抱
61 鰥 62 知 63 匹 64 夫夫有匹偶者 65 樂子之無知 66 瘠 67 智 68 辭其大知也與 69 夫 70 但

Gl. 356. This poetical metaphor: a «connaissance» = 'sweetheart', is hardly possible in our Shu line. — C. Chuang Shu-tsu: 62 is a fault for 66 «They quickly wrap» etc. A very arbitrary text alteration. — D. Another interpr. In the preceding line we had *ch i* 67 'wise men'. This 67 **tjäg / iig / ch i* (falling tone) 'wise' is really an aspect of the same stem as 62 **tjäg / iig / ch i* (even tone) 'to know' and very often the characters are interchangeable, *ch i* 'wise' written 62 without radical, e. g. Li: Chung yung 68 «Was not Shun a great sage (62 here falling tone = 67). Indeed, in the preceding line, the orig. version certainly had simply (with Chuang Shu-tsu) 62 without radical (Chou fashion), and the addition of rad. 73 was an elucidating trick by the transcribing Han scholars. That they did not enlarge our second 62 here in the same way was because they did not realize that here again 62 was to be read in the falling tone (i. e. in the sense of 'wise'). *Ch i* 'wise' being really the same in both lines, the introductory 69 should not be read *f u* 'men' but *f u* 'this, the one just mentioned'. Thus: «These wise men, wrapping and carrying and leading and supporting their wives and children».

Yi ai yü t'ien see Gl. 1409.

1724. *Ts'u küe wang ch'u ch i* 70.

A. PK'ung: «They went on their exile, but, *ch'u* coming out, *ch i* they were seized». — B. Kiang Sheng takes 71 as = the common negation *wu*: «(When) they went, 72 they had nowhere to go out, *ch i* being (as if) caught». — C. Sun Sing-yen: Erya says *ts'u* 73 = 74 'to dwell' and Kuang ya says *ch i* 75 = 76 'to force', thus: «Those who *ts'u* (dwelt =) stayed *wang* perished, *ch'u* those who went out *ch i* were forced». But Erya does not say *ts'u* = *tsai*, but *ts'u* and *tsai* mean 77, and this definition refers to Ode 93, phr. 78 «They are not those to whom my thoughts go», see Gl. 240. It is not at all applicable here. — D. Sun Yi-jang: 73 stands for 79 (the original graph having been only 80, Chou fashion, wrongly filled out into 73 inst. of into 79) 'to curse': «cursing his (the king's) *wang* destroying (the state) they (either) *ch'u* went away or *ch i* were seized». — E. Chuang Shu-tsu: *ts'u* 73 stands for the similar *ts'ü* 'to spy': «*ts'ü* one spied on their *wang ch'u* going away and *ch i* seized them». But if so, there is no earlier line stating that they did flee. — F. Another interpr. *Wang* 71 is the negation meaning the same as *wu* 82, in accordance with B above (very common). Thus: «They went to (where there was no coming out and seizing them =) where nobody could come out and seize them».

1725. *K'i küan ming yung mou* 83.

The subject is «Heaven» in the preceding line.

A. PK'ung: «In looking to it (sc. the people) with affection and *ming* giving its mandate, it employed the zealous ones (the Chou)». — B. Wang Sien-k'ien would take *mou* as a transitive-causative: «In looking to it (the people) with affection and giving its mandate (to the Chou) thereby it stimulated (them)». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

1726. *Siang ku sien min yu Hia* 84.

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en both refer this to the Great Yü: «Look at the predecessor, the lord of Hia (sc. Yü)». — B. The formulation of the following *kin siang yu Yin* 85 — which PK'ung and Ts'ai likewise believe refers to T'ang alone — makes it clear that both lines refer to the dynasties as such: «Look at the ancient predecessors, the lords of Hia»; «Now look at the lords of Yin». This is confirmed by the phr. *sien min* «the previous people», which must refer to persons in the plural: «predecessors»; Yü alone could not be termed *sien min*.

1727 a. *T'ien ti ts'ung ts'i pao* 86;

b. *T'ien ti ko pao* 87.

It is evident that these two lines are analogous, the first referring to the Hia house, the second to the Yin house; they must be interpreted in an analogous way.

A. PK'ung: a. »T'ien ti Heaven's norm ts'ung followed up and tsī treated as son and pao tranquillized (him)» (sc. Yü); b. »That Heaven's norm ko (came to =) went as far as to pao tranquillize (him)» (sc. T'ang). With »Heaven's norm» as subject in both lines, this makes sheer nonsense. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: a. »T'ien ti Heaven guided (him) [sc. Yü], ts'ung tsī pao and followed his son (?whatever that may mean) and tranquillized him». b. »Heaven guided (him) [sc. T'ang] so as to ko correct (the Hia) and pao tranquillized him». Even worse than A. Kiang Sheng follows B as to line a, but in line b he says that ko 88 means 89 'to measure': »T'ien ti Heaven guided (Yin); ko pao if we ko consider (why it) pao tranquillized him» (then it was because etc.) An absurd interpr. — C. Sun Sing-yen: ti 90 = 91 (which is quite unfounded), so that t'ien ti ts'ung 92 is equal to t'ien so ts'ung 93 »whom Heaven followed». Tsī 94 (*tsiag) should be read as 95 (dz'ia) 'to cherish', ko 88 means 'to ascend'. Thus: a. »(The Hia king) t'ien ti ts'ung whom Heaven followed and tsī pao cherished and tranquillized»; b. »(The Yin king) t'ien ti ko whom Heaven raised and pao tranquillized». — D. Wang Yin-chi: ti 90 = 96 'to use' (quite unfounded), and tsī 94 = 95 = 97 (like C above), paraphrasing: a. 98 »Heaven ti used ts'ung the compliant one and cherished and tranquillized him». Wang does not expound line b. But Chang Ping-lin tries to vindicate that just as tsī 94 in a. means 'to cherish', so ko 88 in b. is but a variant for kia 99, which via the meaning 'great' would mean 'to favour'. A curious jumbling with definitions. — E. Sun (C) and Wang (D) are right that tsī pao 100 is a verb equal to 1 or 2; we have a supporting par. for this binome in Kyü: Chou yü, shang: 3 »to cherish and protect the common people». Cf. Li: Chung yung 4 »to (treat as children =) cherish the common people». Shiwen here expressly states that 94 should be read *tsiag / tsī / tsī, and in our Shu line it gives no sound gloss, evidently reading it *tsiag here as well. But in fact 96 *dz'ia (falling tone) 'to breed, to foster, to cherish' and 97 *dz'ia (even tone) 'to cherish' are aspects of the same word stem as 94 *tsiag 'son, child', meaning fundamentally 'to treat as a child, to fondle', and probably our 94 here in Shu and in Li should really be read *dz'ia, as a verb = 'to cherish', against Shiwen and with Wang and Sun. Ti fundamentally means 'to go along a road, to follow' (see Gl. 1337) and since it is here combined with ts'ung 'to follow', we clearly have a binome ti-ts'ung = 'to follow', here evidently taken in the sense of 'to follow the wishes of, to indulge'. In line b. ti stands alone corresponding to the ti-ts'ung in line a. As to ko 88, since it should be a verb expressing some kind of favouring (balancing the tsī 'to cherish' in line a), Sun is evidently right that it means 5 'to rise, to raise' (a well-attested meaning, e. g. Shu, Lü hing 6 »There was no more descending and ascending» — the meaning here unambiguous through the antithesis). Thus: a. »Heaven ti-tsung (followed =) indulged them and tsī pao cherished and protected them»; b. »Heaven ti (followed =) indulged them and ko pao raised and protected them». The parallelism is quite good.

1728. Mien ki t'ien jo 7.

A. Cheng Hün says mien 8 means 9 'to face, to turn towards', and PK'ung expounds: »He (Yü) mien faced and ki t'ien examined Heaven (i. e. Heaven's

厥亡出載 71 亡 72 亡出 73 但 74 在 75 執 76 脅 77 存 78 匪我思且(但) 79 詛 80 且 81 祖 82 無 83.
其眷命用懋 84 相古先民有夏 85 今相有殷 86 天迪從子保 87 天迪格保 88 格 89 量度 90.
迪 91 攸 92 天迪從 93 天所從 94 子 95 字 96 用 97 慈 98 天用順從而慈保之 99 假 100 子保 1
字保 2 慈保 3 慈保庶民 4 子庶民 5 升 6 罔有降格 7 面稽天若 8 面 9 回向 10 勉 11.

mind) jo and complied with it». A rhythmically impossible initial *jo* is accepted by Ts'ai, Kiang and Sun (and Legge, Couvreur). — B. Wang Yin-chi: *jo* is a short-form for *mien* 12, *Erya* = 10, in Shuowen wr. 11. Since all these forms **mjan* / *mjan* / *mien* in rising tone, it is evident that 12 and 11 are simply early phonetic variants of the common 10 'to force, make an effort to, strive to': «He (Yü) strove to examine Heaven's (mind) and complied with it». — C. Yü Yüe: *t'ien jo* belong together, and since *jo* 13 = *shun* 14, a *t'ien jo* = *t'ien shun* means *t'ien tao* 15 «Heaven's (way =) norm». That *jo* 13 should mean *tao* 16 is of course quite excluded. But Yü Sing-wu accepts it, adding another theory: *mien* 8 is a short-form for *mien* 17 'to turn the back on' (ex. in Ch'u: Li sao), thus: «They turned the back on the examining of Heaven's norm». — D. Pei Hüe-hai (in Ku shu hū tsī tsī shī) proposes that *jo* 13 should be carried to the next line: *jo kin shī* etc. 18 and interpreted as = *er* 19 (common): *er kin shī* «But at the present times». It would be even more tempting to say that *jo*, carried to the following, is an empty initial particle: as such, with time adverbs, it is well attested in the Shu: *jo si* 20 «the other day», *jo yi ji* 21 «the next day», thus here: *jo kin shī* «In these times». But, on the one hand, the rhythm will be less good: *Mien ki t'ien, jo kin shī ki chuei küe ming* is inferior to *mien-ki t'ien-jo, kin-shī ki-chuei küe-ming*. On the other hand, and above all, *t'ien-jo* is proved to be a phr. by a par., see E next. — E. The line should be understood on the analogy of a par phr. a few lines later: *neng ki mou tsī t'ien* 22, where we have the same *ki* and *t'ien* and a slightly different turning of the phrase. That line means: «He will be able to *ki* (scrutinize =) comprehend and *mou* (plan to =) endeavour to *tsī t'ien* follow Heaven» (Legge refers the line to «the elders»: They are capable etc., but obviously, with PK'ung, the insight into Heaven's will in both lines concerns the sovereign). In our shorter first line, *mien ki t'ien jo* we have the same two notions in an inverted order; *mien*, with Wang Yin-chi (B), means 'to strive to' and corresponds to the *mou* 'to plan to, to endeavour to' in the second line. *T'ien jo* corresponds to *tsī t'ien* «to follow Heaven». But since *t'ien jo* cannot very well mean this with *jo* as a verb (with anteposed object), we have to construe *jo* as a noun: *t'ien jo* = «The Heaven-obeying» = 'the obedience towards Heaven', with *t'ien* as an objective genitive (as in our «Imitatio Christi», the imitation of Christ). Such constructions are not unusual in early Chinese. Thus our line 7: «They strove to (scrutinize =) comprehend the obedience toward Heaven». — The correctness of Wang's idea *mien* = 'to strive to' is confirmed by a Shu par. where we have the two analogous *mou* 'to plan to' and *mien* 'to strive to' together as a binome: Shu: Li cheng: *Mou mien yung p'ei hün tē* 23.

A. PK'ung: «*mou* in planning *mien* (the affairs) in front of you, use those of a greatly (trained =) docile virtue». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «If you *mou* (plan =) judge according to *mien* the faces (of people), and *yung* thereby (consider them as) greatly docile in virtue». — C. Kiang Sheng follows the stone classics of 175 A. D. which had a *luan* 24 before *mou*; and he takes *p'ei* 25 as 26 'not', and *mien* 8 = 27: «If you bring disorder into the plans, and face (?) and use those who have not any docile virtue». — D. Sun Sing-yen: «*mou* (examine their) counsels, *mien* (examine their) faces, and use those greatly docile in virtue». — E. Wang Yin-chi: 8 = 12: «Endeavour and strive to use those of a greatly docile virtue». — It is difficult to see how the *luan* of the stone classics could suit the line, and it spoils the rhythm. E is simple and convincing.

1729. Wang pu kan hou yung ku wei yü min yen 28.

A. PK'ung punctuates after *yung*, and says *yen* 29 = 30 'to err'. K'ung Ying-ta expounds the latter further: 29 (**ngem* / *ngäm* / *ye n*) is the same as 31 (**ngiäm* / *ngiöm* /

y e n 'precipitous, perilous' (after Shuowen), but here means 'scraggy, uneven', hence 'faulty, to err' (a curious idea). Thus: »The king should not dare to h o u (place behind =) neglect y u n g the employable (sc. good men), and look to and be anxious about the (scragginess =) errors of the people». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after h o u: »The king should not dare to be h o u dilatory, and y u n g hence he should look to and be anxious about the perils of the people». — C. Shuowen quotes: w e i y ü m i n y e n, which shows that H ü punctuated after k u: w a n g p u k a n h o u y u n g k u. But then opinions vary: *a.* Kiang Sheng: »The king should not dare to be dilatory in k u having regard (for the people), he should be anxious about the dangers of the people». This simply skips the inconvenient y u n g. *β.* Sun Sing-yen subdivides: W a n g p u k a n h o u, y u n g k u, and connects with the preceding k i n h i u 32: »As to the present favour (sc. of Heaven towards the Chou), the king should not dare to be dilatory, he should y u n g k u (use =) take advantage of the kind regard (of Heaven's), and stand in fear of the danger (threatening from) the people (sc. its fickleness)». — D. The present Shuowen text quotes our line w e i y ü m i n y e n under the char. 29 y e n, which it says is id. with 31, and it has another entry 33 (Ts'ie yün **njap* / *njĕp* / j ê) = 34 'much talk, garrulous, to tattle', and then it quotes a Tso chuan line where this J ê 33 would be a place name — the present Tso text has the similar graph 35. Now Wang Ying-lin (Sung time) in K'un h ũ e k i w e n cites Shuowen as quoting our line w e i y ü m i n x under j ê 33 inst. of under y e n 29; Tuan Y ũ -t s' a i condemns this severely, but Y ũ Y ũ e justly points out that the Tso place name 35 is a reasonable variant of y e n 29 (36 and 37 being analogous), so that the Tso chuan quotation should really belong to 35 and 29, whereas the Shu quotation should belong to j ê 33, with Wang Ying-lin. Y ũ concludes that Wang had a better Shuowen version than S ũ H ũ a n and S ũ K' i e. Our Shu line: w e i y ü m i n j ê 38 is then analogous to Ode 76, phr. 39 »I fear the gossip of people». This is strikingly plausible. The 33 **njap* / *njĕp* / j ê of Shuowen is but a variant of 40 (same sound) 'garrulous, to tattle', which occurs in Han fei: K i e n k i e. Thus the word is safely attested. For the rest, Sun Sing-yen's idea that k i n 'present' and h o u 'dilatory' have a logical connection is very good, and we obtain: »As to the present (heavenly) grace, the king should not dare to be dilatory but make use of the k u favour; and he should be apprehensive of the people's talk».

1730. W a n g l a i s h a o S h a n g t i 41.

A. PK'ung: s h a o has its ordinary meaning of 42 'to continue': »May the king come and (continue =) take over the work of God on High». This is quite in accord with the idea of the king as T' i e n t s i Son of Heaven (already occurring in early bronze inscriptions), the young king here taking over the charge of carrying out Heaven's will. — B. Sun Yi-jang: s h a o has its extended meaning of ('to transmit' =) 'carry out for another, to assist' (common in Li): »May the king come and assist God on High». This of course is possible, but there is really no reason for abandoning the ancient expl. which is quite good. Similarly in Shu: W e n h o u c h i m i n g: Y u n g h u e i s h a o n a i p i 43 Sun would interpret s h a o as = 'to assist'; but the line immediately preceding: 44 has the same s h a o 45 in the sense of 'to continue' (here unambiguous), and it would be

惟 12 勳 13 若 14 順 15 天 道 16 道 17 惟 18 若 今 時 19 而 20 若 昔 21 若 翼 日 22 能 稽 謀 自 天 23.
謀 面 用 丕 訓 德 24 亂 25 丕 26 不 27 向 28 王 不 敢 後 用 顧 畏 于 民 若 29 若 30 稽 31 嚴 32 今 休
33 密 34 多 言 35 密 36 山 37 石 38 畏 于 民 密 39 畏 民 之 多 言 40 講 41 王 來 紹 上 帝 42 繼 43 用
會 紹 乃 辟 44 汝 克 紹 乃 先 祖 45 紹 46 昭 47 見 48 紹 我 周 王 49 昭 我 周 王 50 紹 51 自 服 于 土

strange indeed if it occurred with two different meanings in two consecutive lines. — C. Chang Ping-lin has an eccentric idea that *shao 45* is equal to *chao 46*, and since Erya says this *chao 46* means *hien 47* 'to be conspicuous' (fundamentally: 'to shine'), our *wang lai shao (chao) Shang ti* would mean: 'May the king come and appear before God on High', in the sense of performing the *kiao* sacrifice in the suburb. In support he adduces a lost Shu chapter ap. Meng: T'eng Wen Kung, *hia: 48* (this is quoted as *49* in PK'ung's spurious Wu Ch'eng chapter), which Chang believes means: 'They appeared before our Chou king'. But, as Tsiao Sün correctly has developed, *shao 45* here has that same sense of *kieshao 50* mentioned above: 'To assist' = 'to introduce': 'They were (assisted forward to =) introduced to our Chou king'.

1731. a. *Tsī fu yü t'u chung 51*;

b. *K'i tso ta yi k'i tsī shī p'ei Huang t'ien 52*.

A. Cheng Hün and Wang Su take *tsī 53* as = *54* 'to use' in both lines: a: 'And (using this =) thereby manage in the centre of the land'; b: 'Having made the great city, he shall *tsī shī* using that (city) be a counterpart to August Heaven'. But *tsī* really has no such meaning. PK'ung, realizing that the formulation is different in the two lines: a. *tsī* alone, b. *tsī shī*, takes the first as = 'self', the second as = *yung*, with Cheng Hün. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: The *tsī* in a. means 'self' and the *tsī* in b., differently construed (with an object), means 'from', as usual. Thus: a. 'And himself manage (the government) in the centre of the land'; b. 'Having made the great city, he shall (governing) from there be a counterpart to August Heaven'. (Legge takes *tsī shī 55* to refer to time: 'henceforth', which misses the principal idea of the passage, that Lo-yi shall be a centre of government).

Pi sī yü shang hia see Gl. 1604.

1732. *Tsī shī chung yi 36*.

A. PK'ung: 'And *tsī shī chung* from that centre govern'. He thus takes *shī 51* as an attribute to *chung*. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en has realized that *tsī shī 55* 'from there' is the same as in the preceding line, and that *shī* does not belong to *chung*. He paraphrases *58*, the Shu phr. thus meaning: 'From there you can be in the centre and govern'. This makes poor sense ('to be in the centre from there'); we have to modify it so as to carry *chung* to *yi*: 'And from there centrally govern'.

1733. *Tsie sing wei jī k'i mai 59*.

'Discipline their (natures =) minds and they will progress daily'. Yü Sing-wu has a speculation that the primary form of *tsie 60* is here a mistake for the primary form of *jen 61*, and that *tsie sing* should be *jen sheng 62*. In Lü: *Chung ki* we have, however, the phr. *tsie hu sing ye 63*, which probably is an allusion to our Shu line, and in any case shows that *tsie sing* was a pre-Han phrase.

1734. *Wang king tso so 64*.

PK'ung has no explanation. A. Ts'ai Ch'en: 'May the king make reverence his position', i. e. take his stand in reverence. This is hardly acceptable with a view to the word sequence. — B. Kiang Sheng: 'May the king with reverent attention (make a placing =) give them their proper positions'.

1735. *Wo pu k'o pu kien yü yu Hia 65*.

PK'ung paraphrases *kien 66* by *67* 'to look at': 'We should not fail to look at the lords of Hia'. But *kien* here has more particularly the sense of 'to mirror' (= *68*), as shown by a par. in Tsiu kao above: *69* 'Men should not (examine =) mirror themselves in water'. The metaphor is the same here. For further details, see Gl. 763. This was already recognized in Han time, for Ts'uei Yin *70* (Hou Han shu: Ts'uei Yin chuan) in a memorial quotes *71*.

1736. Wo yi wei tsī er kuo ming si jo kung 72.

This follows upon: »Now the king has succeeded to and received their mandate».

A. PK'ung: »We should (think of =) take warning from the mandates of these two states and succeed to jo kung those who complied with the meritorious (virtue)». An impossible construction. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »I also consider it as being the mandate of these two states; we should succeed to jo kung those who had merits». Just as bad as A. — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen, in the wake of A, rightly insist that wei 73 must be the verb 'to think' (common in Shu), but in their paraphrases they give no satisfactory expl. of jo 74. This jo must evidently be a verb 'to be equal to, to equal'. Thus: »We should also remember the mandates of these two states (sc. Hia and Yin), and in succeeding them equal their merits».

1737. Wang nai ch'u fu 75.

A. The Kin-wen version ap. Lun heng: Shuai-sing read 76: »Now the king starts to undertake the mandate». — B. The Ku-wen version ap. PK'ung read as 75 above. PK'ung takes fu as = 77 »The king first manages (the instruction)». — A is supported by the similar phr. Yu Hia fu t'ien ming 78 a few lines earlier.

1738. Jo sheng tsī wang pu tsai k'ue ch'u sheng 79.

A. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Shuai sing) has a curious speculation that sheng tsī 80 means a youth of 15 years of age (i. e. the age at which the king entered school): »It is like a new-formed youth (sc. who is just beginning his studies); all depends on his first sheng (creation =) formation (education)». P'i Si-juei, on the other hand, believes that the »15 years» are not deduced from the entering into school and there being »formed» but from the rule expressed in Tso: Siang 9: »A ruler of a state 81 at 15 begets child». Thus Wang Ch'ung would have understood our sheng tsī as »a begetter», i. e. youth of 15. This is very unlikely, for it is not applicable to the following ch'u sheng. In any case, Wang Ch'ung's idea is extremely far-fetched. — B. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en: »It is like bearing a child, all depends on its (time when) just born», i. e. when it is first taught to be good or bad. Legge tries to improve this by formulating: »It is as on the birth of a son, when all depends on (the training of) his early life». This entails that sheng would mean two different things ('to bear' and 'to live, life') in the same line, which is very unlikely. — C. As pointed out by Chang Ping-lin, Kia Yi (early Han time) in Sin shu: T'ai kiao narrates how Ch'eng Wang's mother, while pregnant with him, was very careful of her deportment and thus gave t'ai kiao 82 »womb instruction», i. e. instilled good tendencies in her off-spring already before birth. Since it is a question precisely of Ch'eng Wang, this evidently alludes to our Shu passage, and Kia understood it thus: »It is like bearing a child, all depends on its first (bearing =) time in the mother's womb». This is too sophisticated, but Kia is obviously right that sheng means the same: 'to bear, birth' in both places, and the sequel fully explains the simile: »It is like bearing a child, all depends on the (first bearing =) birth, oneself gives it the endowment of wisdom (i. e. as innate gift); (so) Heaven endows with wisdom» etc.

中其作大邑其自時配皇天 53 自 54 用 55 自時 56 自時中 57 時 58 自是可以宅中國
治 59 節性惟日其邁 60 節 61 人 62 人生 63 節乎性也 64 王敬作所 65 我不可不暨于有夏
66 暨 67 視 68 鑑 69 人無于水鑑 70 崔駰 71 鑑于有殷 72 我亦惟茲二國命嗣若功 73 惟 74
若 75 王乃初服 76 今王初服厥命 77 服行教化 78 有夏服天命 79 若生子罔不在厥初生
80 生子 81 十五而生子 82 胎教 83 知今我初服 84 知 85 張 86 矧 87 惟有歷年我不敢知曰

1739. Chī kin wo ch' u fu 83.

Liu Feng-lu would consider chī 84 as a corruption of shen 85 or 86 'how much the more'. But he fails to see the par. with an earlier line. There we had: wei yu li nien, wo pu kan chī yue 87; here we have: ming li nien, chī kin wo ch' u fu 88. There is the same chī 'we know' in both cases, after the li nien 'so and so many years' given by Heaven. Yü Yü tries to argue that in the former example as well, chī 84 is a 'particle', which is quite inadmissible.

1740. Wang k' i t' ê chī yung k' i t' ien yung ming 89.

A. PK'ung: 'May the king (by the virtue's use =) by means of virtue pray for Heaven's eternal mandate'. — B. Yü Sing-wu: t'ê, in Chou script sometimes wr. 90, is here a corruption of sing 91, in Chou script 92, and the line should run: 'wang k' i sing chī, yung k' i etc.: 'The king should examine it, and thus pray for' etc. A very arbitrary text alteration.

1741. Wu yi siao min yin yung fei yi yi kan t' ien lu yung yi min jo yu kung 93.

A. PK'ung punctuates: wu yi siao min yin yung fei yi, yi kan t' ien lu yung yi min, jo yu kung, and interprets: 'He should not in employing the people yin excessively use irregular (times); and he should also dare to t' ien cut off lu the capital punishments and thus govern the people; jo complying with (Yü and T'ang) he will have achievements'. — B. Kiang Sheng, while following A for the first half, continues: 'yi kan also how should he dare, by exterminating capital punishments, to govern the people; jo being compliant (in guiding them), he will have achievements'. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates the latter part thus: yi kan t' ien lu yung yi, min jo yu kung, and takes the whole as far as yung fei yi as one clause: 'He should not, because the small people go to excess and use irregular (practises), likewise dare to rule by exterminating capital punishments; min jo the people being compliantly treated, he will have achievements'. — D. Wang Yin-chi follows Ts'ai Ch'en but for the last part. He punctuates after min (with PK'ung, A above), and says jo 94 = nai 95. Kyü: Chou yü quotes a lost Shu chapter: pi yu jen ye, jo neng yu tsi 96. 'One must be patient, and then one can be successful', on which Wei Chao jo = nai (In PK'ung's spurious chapter Kün Ch'en this line is incorporated but formulated 97). Our jo yu kung would thus mean: 'and then you can have achievements'. That jo 94 sometimes serves in the sense of 98 (*ñiag / ñi / er), which is synonymous with and cognate to 95 (*nag / ñi / nai) is well established, cf. Gl. 1570. But it is hardly necessary to extenuate the jo so strongly as to make it a mere particle. It is common in the Shu, meaning 'like this, thus' (e. g. Wang jo yue 'The king spoke thus'), and that should be the meaning here: 'He should not, because the small people go to excess and use irregular (practises), likewise dare to rule the people by exterminating capital punishments; (like this =) in this way he will have achievements'.

1742. Siao min nai wei hing yung yü t' ien hia 99.

A. PK'ung: hing yung 100 = 1: 'The small people then will use him as a model in all the world'. This inversion of verb and object is not plausible. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: 'The small people then will imitate (him) and yung use it (sc. the virtue) in all the world'. This is possible in itself, but not applicable in a par. line in Shu: To fang, see below. — C. Hing yung is therefore obviously a synonym-binome: 'to imitate and use' is the same as simply 'to imitate': 'The small people then will (imitate and use him =) imitate him in all the world'. — D. Wang Nien-sun: Erya says hing 2 = ch' ang 3, and this is here only an adverbial phr.: 'The small people will then hing constantly yung use it (sc. the virtue) in all the world'. This is unacceptable, for hing is equal to ch' ang 3 in its sense of 'constant norm, law, rule, model', but certainly not in its

sense of 'constantly'. — E. For an unsupportable idea of Yü Yüe's that hing means the same as yung 'to use' see Gl. 1458. — We compare:

Shu: To fang: K'ue min hing yung k'üan 4.

A. PK'ung: «The people (even if) hing punished, yung thereby k'üan were stimulated». This is excluded, for the phr. hing yung must reasonably be the same as in our Shao kao passage above, and there it is quite clear that hing 2 does not mean 'punishment' but 'norm, to take as model, to imitate', as in Odes 235, 272. Ts'ai Ch'en has realized this, but takes yung differently from the corresponding yung in B above: «The people hing imitated him, and yung thereby were stimulated». This inconsistency will not do. Hing-yung here again is a synonym-compound: «The people hing yung imitated him and k'üan were stimulated». — B. Here again Wang Yin-chi (in the wake of his father Nien-sun) would take hing as = 'constantly', and Yü Yüe as = 'to use', both unacceptable, see above.

1743. Yü e wang hien 5.

A. PK'ung insists that yü e 6 should mean yü 7, paraphrasing 8, which makes poor sense and is therefore expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: 9, thus: «In a king's (principles) he will be illustrious». — B. Yü e is a mere initial particle (see Gl. 1207): «The king will then become illustrious».

1744. Shī wu t'i yu Yin li nien 10.

All the commentators, ancient and modern, explain shī 11 by yung 12. Shī is well attested in the sense of 12 'to use', hence also = 'using (this), thereby', but it frequently is a mere particle carrying over from one line to another, e. g. Ode 191, phr. 13 «the disorder is never settled, every month it grows». For many more ex. see Gl. 103, 519, 654, 713. Here it is no more than such a particle, which Legge rightly realized.

1745. Kan yi wang chī ch'ou min po kün tsī yüe yu min pao shou wang wei ming 14.

A. PK'ung says 15 **d'îôg / d'îqu / ch'ou* = 16 'a vis-à-vis, to match'; the fundamental sense of the word being 'to respond', it can also mean a 'co-respondent, a vis-à-vis, a match', hence also 'an adversary, enemy' (Shiwen records the variant 17, same sound, 'to pledge a cup in response', which is etym. the same word). PK'ung further takes yüe 6 = 7 'in' (considering it as a variant for 18, which Erya defines as = 7) and pao 19 as = 20 'peace'. Thus: «I dare, with the king's po kün tsī all grandees ch'ou min who respond to the people, yüe yu min in the cherishing of the people pao shou peacefully receive the king's majestic decrees». Kiang Sheng modifies this in reading yüe yu min pao together: «in aiding the people's peace». — B. Sun Sing-yen: ch'ou 15 is a loan char. for 21 **d'îôg / d'îqu / ch'ou* 'dense, thick', just as it was in Shu: Wei tsī, see Gl. 1509. And yu 22 stands for 23 (same sound). Thus: «I dare, with the king's (dense =) numerous people and po kün tsī yüe yu min such grandees who possess people, peacefully receive etc. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en rightly insists on the contrast between ch'ou min 24 and yu min 25. Since yu normally

88 命歷年知今我有服 89 王其德之用所天永命 90 也 91 省 92 也 93 勿以小民淫用非彝
亦敢殄戮用乂民若有功 94 若 95 乃 96 必有忍也若能濟 97 必有忍其乃有濟 98 而 99
小民乃惟利用于天下 100 利用 1. 用法 2. 刑 3. 常 4. 厥民利用勸 5. 越王顯 6. 越 7. 于 8.
于王亦有光明 9. 於王道亦有光明 10. 式勿咎有殷歷年 11. 式 12. 用 13. 亂靡有定式月斯
生 14. 敢以王之饗民百君子越有民保受王威命 15. 饗 16. 匹 17. 西州 18. 粵 19. 保 20. 安 21. 綱 22.

means 'friend' and *ch'ou* commonly means 'enemy', it would be strange indeed if *ch'ou* did not have that sense here, where it obviously balances *yü* 'friend'. *Yü* is a mere particle, as often (see Gl. 1207). Thus: 'I dare, with all the grandees of the king's hostile people (sc. the vanquished Yin) and with the friendly people (i. e. the allied states), observe and receive the king's majestic decrees'.

Lo kao.

1746. *Chen fu tsi ming pi* 26.

A. PK'ung believes that this refers to Chou Kung's handing over the government to the young king, and he takes *tsi* in the dative: 'I restitute to *tsi* you *ming pi* the bright sovereign's (government)'. To supply the salient word 'government', which is not in the text, will certainly not do. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen therefore turn it differently: 'I restitute you as bright sovereign'. They all believe that this was the opinion of the Han scholars, because in Han shu: Wang Mang chuan, in a memorial to the throne of the year 5 A. D., it is said that upon Ch'eng Wang's attaining manhood, Chou Kung 27 'handed over to him the administrative documents and said: *fu tsi ming pi*'. But this is not at all conclusive, see B next. — B. Wang An-shi: *fu* means 'to report': 'I report to (you) my son and bright sovereign'. This was followed by Ts'ai Ch'en and later scholars like Yü Yüe and Wang Kuo-wei. It is strongly supported by a par. in Shu: Li cheng 28 'All I report to you, young son and king'. (Sun Yi-jang, because of this par., would carry the *wang* from next line here: *chen fu tsi ming pi wang*, but that is excluded, for the *ming pi* reverts in the next line, ending the passage, which shows that the phr. should not be *pi wang*). Now this interpr. (as pointed out by Yü Yüe) was already that intended in the Han-time memorial in A above (Han shu), for after the line there quoted it continues: 'Chou Kung had earlier constantly given orders in the king's name, and on his own authority acted, 29 without reporting; therefore (now) he said: *fu tsi ming kün* 30 'I report to you, bright sovereign'. And we may add that Huai-nan-tsi seems to have held the same opinion, for in Huai: Fan lun he says that Chou Kung with the face towards the North as a subject served Ch'eng Wang; 31 'He asked permission, and then he reported, and then he acted (Kao Yu: *fu* 32 = 33 'to report'), which obviously alludes to our Shu passage. Thus B is the oldest interpr. attested, and it suits the context best: the sequel is a detailed report of the founding of the new capital. — C. Chuang Shu-tsu agrees that *fu* means 'to report', but would take *pi* 34 as = 'law': 'I report to you on the bright law', which, however, makes poor sense in the context. — D. Yü Sing-wu, who insists that *chen* 35 should be a genitive (as it mostly is in the bronze inscriptions, but far from always in the Shu), concludes that *fu tsi* 36 is a noun; and since *fu* can mean 37 'to repeat', *fu tsi* ('additional son?') would be a term meaning 'brother's son'. Thus: 'My nephew, bright sovereign!'. But there is not the slightest support for such a meaning of *fu tsi*.

1747. *Wang ju fu kan ki t'ien ki ming ting ming yü nai yin pao ta siang tung t'u k'i ki tso min ming pi* 38.

A. PK'ung: *ju* 39 is often equal to *wang* 40 'to go'; and since *wang* alone frequently means *wang* *ji* 41 'in (gone =) past days, formerly', *ju* should mean the same: 'The king in the past has not dared to come to (an understanding of) Heaven's (foundation charge and tranquillizing charge =) first charge to the Chou and its charge (to them) to tranquillize (the world); I therefore, succeeding (to Wen and Wu) have *pao* tranquillized (the world); I greatly surveyed the Eastern lands, so as to (foundingly =) first make for the people a bright sovereign's (government)'. An impossible construction. Moreover *ju* 39 means 'to go to' (with an object, the goal), never 'in past times'. —

B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »The king is as if he dare not come to (an understanding of) Heaven's founding decree and definitely settling decree; I therefore, following the Guardian (i. e. the prince of Shao), have grandly inspected the Eastern lands, in order to found (a place where) he shall be the people's bright sovereign». The second half here is a great improvement on PK'ung. — **C.** Kiang Sheng: »If the king dare not reach to Heaven's founding charge (i. e. that given to Wen Wang) and its definitely settling charge (to Wu Wang), I have yin continued pao the tranquillizing, and» etc. Sun Sing-yen tries to improve this by taking ju 39 as = er 42: wang er fu kan = »The king dare not» etc. — **D.** Sun Yi-jang, who would connect wang 43 with the preceding line (which is not allowable, see Gl. 1746) interprets: ju fu kan ki »(I report to you, my son and bright sovereign) as if I dare not attain to» (sc. the standard of the ancient sovereigns). Yü Sing-wu, keeping the wang, explains: »If the king dare not attain to (the standard etc.)» — **E.** Wang Kuo-wei: ju 39 is equal to er 42 and this again is equal to ju 44 'you'; fu kan 45 is an abbreviation of fu kan fu 46: »King, you dare not but reach to Heaven's founding charge and definitely establishing charge». Utterly unacceptable speculations. — **F.** Another interpr. The whole line refers to the foundation ki 47 of the city of Lo as a new capital for the young king to dominate the whole realm. He is not satisfied with the earlier capital Hao alone, he needs a more central place. That this is the purport follows from the subsequent narrative. Thus: »If the king dare not (come to =) settle in (the place where) Heaven founded the mandate and fixed the mandate (i. e. the Western capital Hao), I have followed the Guardian (i. e. the prince of Shao) and grandly inspected the eastern lands, in order to found (a place where) he shall be the people's bright sovereign». 1748. Chao ch'i yü Lo shi 48. Not, with Cheng Hsian and PK'ung: »In the morning I came to the shi multitudes of Lo», but: »In the morning I came to the (intended) capital Lo», see Gl. 761.

1749. Wei Lo shi 49.

A. Cheng Hsian paraphrases: »(In the region of Lo), you could for long place the people there and make them work the fields and feed you». Thus: »The (region of) Lo (could) feed you». — **B.** PK'ung: shi 'to eat' refers to the ink on the oracle bones: »In regard to the Lo, (the ink) was (eaten =) absorbed», i. e. the omen was good. PK'ung could know very little of the oracle technique, and this interpr. is an arbitrary guess. — **C.** Yü Yüe adduces several early cases in which shi 'to eat' has been defined as = yung 50 'to use' by the commentators, and wei Lo shi would thus mean: »The (region of) Lo (could) be used». But in the said examples yung 'to use' is only a free rendering of the extended sense of 'to consume', and the line would then really mean: »The (region of) Lo (was eatable =) could be used for maintenance». This suits the context badly, for the whole passage describes the divination about various localities, and wei Lo shi should, with B, refer to the answer of the oracle, not an estimate of the officials that the region was fertile. — **D.** Hence we must conclude that shi 51 (d'iek) stands for something else. Probably it is a loan char. (phonetic without radical, Chou fashion) for ch'i 52 (*t'iek) 'to order, to command, to direct' (ex. of this word in Kyü: Ts'i yü etc.), thus: »It was (the region of) Lo that was ordered» (sc. by the oracle). A similar use

友²³有²⁴饗²⁵民²⁶友²⁷民²⁸朕²⁹復³⁰子³¹明³²辟³³致³⁴政³⁵善³⁶成³⁷告³⁸孺³⁹子⁴⁰王⁴¹走⁴²不⁴³報⁴⁴復⁴⁵子⁴⁶明⁴⁷君⁴⁸
 王⁴⁹請⁵⁰而⁵¹復⁵²而⁵³復⁵⁴行⁵⁵復⁵⁶白⁵⁷辟⁵⁸朕⁵⁹復⁶⁰子⁶¹又⁶²王⁶³若⁶⁴弗⁶⁵敢⁶⁶及⁶⁷天⁶⁸基⁶⁹命⁷⁰定⁷¹命⁷²乎⁷³乃⁷⁴
 胤⁷⁵保⁷⁶大⁷⁷相⁷⁸東⁷⁹土⁸⁰其⁸¹基⁸²作⁸³民⁸⁴明⁸⁵辟⁸⁶如⁸⁷往⁸⁸往⁸⁹日⁹⁰而⁹¹王⁹²汝⁹³弗⁹⁴敢⁹⁵弗⁹⁶敢⁹⁷弗⁹⁸基⁹⁹
 朝¹⁰⁰至¹⁰¹于¹⁰²洛¹⁰³師¹⁰⁴惟¹⁰⁵洛¹⁰⁶食¹⁰⁷用¹⁰⁸食¹⁰⁹飭¹¹⁰言¹¹¹不¹¹²可¹¹³食¹¹⁴飾¹¹⁵其¹¹⁶作¹¹⁷周¹¹⁸匹¹¹⁹休¹²⁰俾¹²¹來¹²²來¹²³視¹²⁴

as a short-form we have in Kyü: Tsin yü 53, where shī 51 serves as short-form (without radical) for 54.

1750. K' i tso Chou p' i hui 55.

A. PK'ung: »He will establish Chou, so as to respond to the grace«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »He will make (the place where) Chou shall respond to the grace«. — C. Sun Sing-yen (alternatively): »He will make it p' i a counterpart to Chou (i. e. to the earlier capital Hao), hui and it will be fine«. — No reason to abandon the earliest interpr.

1751. P'ing lai lai shī yü pu hui heng ki 56.

A. Cheng Hüan takes the repetition of lai to indicate two messengers: »P'ing messengers lai have come lai and come«. — B. PK'ung punctuates: p'ing lai, lai shī yü etc. The first p'ing lai is a repetition from an earlier line (»He has sent a messenger to come«): »P'ing lai »He has sent a messenger to come; lai shī yü and he has come to show me« etc. (Wang Kuo-wei refers the second lai to the king himself, but it is difficult to see how the line could then be construed). — C. Yü Yü would evade the repetition of lai by taking the second as a short-form for lai 57 'to give', a very forced expl. B is simple and reasonable. — PK'ung takes pu hui »the happiness of the oracles« and heng ki »the constant auspiciousness (of the site)« as two coördinated phr. Ts'ai Ch'en better: »the grace and constant auspiciousness of the oracles«.

1752. Wo er jen kung cheng 58.

A. PK'ung: cheng 59 = cheng 60: »We two men (sc. I and the prince) shall together regulate (this auspicious business)«. — B. Ma Jung says cheng = tang 61. Now this tang is just as obscure and ambiguous as the cheng of the text. Legge says: »We two (the king and the prince) sustain the responsibility in common«. Liu Feng-lu refers er jen to Wen Wang and Wu Wang: »Our two men (Wen and Wu) will both find it correct«. The word cheng 59 is common in the sense of 'straight, correct, proper' (it is etym. closely cognate to 60), and when it has its sense of 'divination inquiry' it really means 'to verify, to determine what is correct'. With the char. enlarged into 62 (*tieng, even tone) it means (Ode 268) 'auspicious' (properly: 'correct'). In the present context, referring to oracles, it must mean: »We two men have both verified (sc. the reading of the oracles)«.

1753. Pai shou k' i shou hui yen 63.

A. PK'ung supplies a k' iu 64 after shou: »Saluting and bowing my head to the ground (I seek) his instructive words«. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen supply a 65: »(I receive) his instructive words«. Ts'ai Ch'en better paraphrases »in order to thank for«, and indeed hui yen is the direct object of pai shou k' i shou: »I salute and bow the head to the ground for his instructive words«. — B. Yü Sing-wu: As recognized by Wu Ta-ch'eng, the char. 66 can be a variant for mou 67 'to plan, consult, deliberate': in the Wang-sun K'ien-chê Bell inscription we have 68 in the sense of 69. Indeed, in Ode 20, 70 has the Han school variant 71. Thus: »I salute and bow the head to the ground for his deliberating words«. — B is quite possible, but since hui 66 makes excellent sense in its ordinary and common reading = 'to instruct', we have no reason to abandon the earliest interpr.

1754. Wang chao ch'eng Yin li si yü sin yi 72.

A. Cheng Hüan and Pan Ku (Po hu t'ung: Li yüe), foll. by PK'ung: »May the king first (lifting, raising =) employing the rites of the Yin, sacrifice in the new city«. — B. Wang An-shi, foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en: yin 73 = 74 'ample'. The meaning 'great, ample, numerous' is well attested, e. g. Ode 95, phr. 75 »In great crowds they fill the ground«; Tso: Ch'eng 16, phr. 76 »Just now (in the ampleness of the affairs =) when there is so much to do« (Tu Yü: yin 73 = 74) etc. (cf. Gl. 1448, common). Thus: »May the king first (lift =) undertake ample rites and sacrifice in the new city«. — C. Chang Ping-lin

insists that yin in the sense of 'ample, full, grand' was applied as a technical term for a certain kind of sacrifice. An example from Kungyang: Wen 2, phr. 77 »In 5 years they twice made yin sacrifice» is not conclusive, since this may equally well mean »... made ample sacrifice». But in Tso: Siang 22, phr. 78 »to sacrifice with a single sheep, and to make yin (»the ample sacrifice») with a sheep and a pig», the word is unambiguously a technical name for a particularly full sacrifice. Thus: »May the king first, employing the rites of the yin sacrifice, sacrifice in the new city». Wang Kuo-wei adds that the yin was an inaugural sacrifice to Heaven introducing a new reign, an unproved speculation. — C is tempting. On the other hand, the combination yin li 79 speaks rather in favour of B. We have a very close par. in Li: Sang ta ki with this very combination: 80 »The host prepared the rites (ritual gifts) for a great offering» (Cheng Huan: yin = 81). But after all, historical considerations are strongest in favour of the ancient interpr. A. The Chou, from their strong-hold in Shensi, pushed eastward, founding a new capital city east of the passes, in the north of Honan, the central sphere of the ancient Yin; and this only a few years after the fall of the Yin. They were here, indeed, practically in enemy country, and it was prudent, in order to reconcile the Honan population to the new regime, to be conservative in regard to the sacred rites. This is underlined by chao »at first». Ch'eng 82 therefore probably did not mean 'to lift' here, but 'to correspond to' (very common), thus: »May the king at first, (corresponding to =) in accordance with the rites of the Yin, sacrifice in the new city». Cf Gl. 1755 below.

1755. Hien chi wu wen 83.

A. PK'ung: »Range in order (sc. for sacrifice) all those for whom there are no documents», i. e. who are not registered in the rituals. A curious interpr. — B. Kiang Sheng: »Range them all in order, (and sacrifice) without (ornament =) display». — C. Wang Yin-chi: wen 84 is a short-form (Chou fashion) for wen 85 'to confuse' (well-attested word), thus: »Range everything in order without confusion». — D. Yü Sing-wu: chi 86 (*d'jēt) stands for yi 97 (*djar) in the sense of 'simple': »Make everything simple and without (ornament =) display». Very unlikely. — C is a brilliant interpr., confirming the ancient expl. in Gl. 1754 above. The king is told to sacrifice according to the Yin rites (in order to placate the Honan population), and to be careful to do everything properly, without confusion: he should avoid every step in the ceremonies that could incite the animosity of the crowd.

1756. Yü wei yüe shu yu shi 88.

A. PK'ung: »I said: may there be (good governing) affairs». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »... you will probably have tasks». — C. Kiang Sheng: yu shi 89 is a technical term for 'sacrifice', e. g. Tso: Hi 9, phr. 90 »The Son of Heaven had a (sacrificial) performance in the (temples of) Wen and Wu». Since the whole passage here deals with sacrifices, that must be the meaning here: »I said (to them): may you (have performances =) partake in the sacrifices».

1757. Kin wang tsi ming yüe ki kung tsung yi kung tso yüan si 91.

A. PK'ung: »Now may the king go and command saying: record the merits, and, for tsung honouring (people), according to their merits let them (make) act in the

予卜休恆吉 57. 賚 58. 我二人共貞 59. 貞 60. 正 61. 當 62. 禘 63. 拜手稽首誨言 64. 求 65. 受 66. 誨
67. 謀 68. 誨猷 69. 謀猷 70. 梅 71. 棖 72. 王肇稱殷禮祀于新邑 73. 殷 74. 盛 75. 殷其盈矣 76. 方事
之殷也 77. 五年而再殷祭 78. 祭以特羊殷以少牢 79. 殷禮 80. 主人具殷奠之禮 81. 大 82. 稱
83. 成秩無文 84. 文 85. 秦 86. 秩 87. 焉 88. 予惟曰庶有事 89. 有事 90. 天子有事于文武 91. 今王

great sacrifices». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »Now may the king tsi immediately ming command and say: record kung tsung those distinguished by merits, and according...» etc. — **C.** Lu Tê-ming (Shiwen) records a variant jī 92 for 93, and Kiang Sheng has adopted this: »Now on the day when the king tsi ming goes to his mandate, he should ki kung record the meritorious ones and tsung distinguish them, and according». etc. — **D.** Sun Sing-yen reverts to the reading yüe 93, which he takes to be the empty particle (= 94), so common in the Shu: »Now when the king goes to his mandate, he should» etc. (= C). — **E.** Sun Yi-jang: kung tsung 95 is probably a title: »the recorder of merits» (equal to the Sī hün 96 of the Chouli), just as the director of rites is called (in Yao tien) chī tsung 97 (he adds that in Tsiu kao, the phr. tsung kung 98 probably means the same, which is quite excluded; the context there indicates a more general sense: »the honoured officers»). Thus: »Now the king should immediately command, saying: record with the kung tsung recorder of merits, and according...» etc. But no text having such a title is known, so that this guess is quite arbitrary. — **F.** Liu Feng-lu: in Hiao king we read 99 »(Chou Kung) in the ancestral temple sacrificed to Wen Wang to match God on High». Our tsung yi kung tso yüan sī has this meaning: »In the ancestral temple according to merits let them act in the fundamental sacrifices» (sc. to the founder). In fact we had our term yüan sī 100 in Tsiu kao with precisely this meaning, as clearly shown by the context there. — **G.** Wang Kuo-wei: the line from ki kung etc. are the words of the king quoted by Chou Kung; and kung 1 »the merit» refers to the building of the city Lo; yüan sī means »the sacrifice inaugurating a new era», hence also »the first year (of a new era)». Thus: »(I shall) record the merit and honour (of having achieved the Lo work), and because of the merit make yüan sī the inaugural first-year sacrifice». This is all very forced, and moreover invalidated by the Tsiu kao par. quoted in F above, which shows yüan sī to have quite another meaning. — **H.** Yü Sing-wu: ki 2 is an error for sī 3 'sacrifice'. And since kung 4 and kung 5 are often interchangeable, kung tsung 95 should be 6, and this is equal to the tsung kung in Ode 240, phr. 7: huei yü tsung kung »He was obedient to the (dead) princes of his clan». Tsi ming 8 means »(go for an order =) ask for an order». Thus: »Now the king will go for an order, and sacrifice to the (dead) princes of the clan; by the meritorious ones he will yüan sī make the great sacrifices». All exceedingly speculative. — **I.** That ming 9 should here mean 'mandate' (C, D) is vetoed by the next line, where we again have ming yüe 10 clearly meaning 'to order, command', referring to the king. Tsi 11 always is a verb 'to approach, to go to' in the Shu (with A), and the meaning 'immediately' (B) belongs to a later style. As to tsung 12, F is strikingly plausible. We thus obtain: »Now may the king go and command, saying: record the merits, and in the ancestral temple according to merits let them act in the fundamental sacrifices».

1758. Wei ming yüe ju shou ming tu pi p'ei shī kung tsai 13.

A. PK'ung punctuates wei ming yüe, ju shou ming tu, pi p'ei, shī kung tsai: »(Heaven) having given the mandate, you have received the mandate tu (amply =) solidly, you should pi p'ei aid and enhance (it), shī kung and observing the merits, tsai record them». An impossible construction. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »And may you command, saying: you (officers) have received your changes, tu pi may you (solidly =) sincerely assist (the royal house); grandly display the records of your merits». — **C.** Sun Yi-jang: tu 14 (*tōk) is loan char. for 15 (*tōk): »You have received (the preceding king's) charge to tu correct pi and assist (me)». — **D.** Yü Sing-wu: p'ei 16 is a particle = 17; tsai 18 stands for 19, so that the line p'ei shī kung tsai is equal to 20, whatever that may mean. — **E.** Wang Kuo-wei: tsai 18 = 21, as often in the Shu, and kung-tsai is a binome. Wang believes

that the line is spoken by Ch'eng Wang to Chou Kung: «Grandly show your kung tsai achievements» (sc. in building Lo). — In this *embarras de richesse* of proposals, a combination of B and E seems most simple and plausible: «And may you command, saying: you (officers) have received your charges, sincerely to assist (me), may you grandly show your kung tsai achievements».

1759. Nai ju k'i si tsī kia o kung 22.

A. Fu Sheng in Shang shu ta chuan reads 23, adding that a 'commentary' (evidently pre-Han) defines 24 (*g'ôk, g'ôg) as = 25 (*g'ôg). This latter means 'to imitate, emulate', but also causative: 'to cause to emulate, to stimulate', as in Shu: Tsī ts'ai 26 «When the king stimulates (gives injunctions to) the princes of the states». From Fu Sheng's paraphrase it is clear that he took 24 = 25 in this sense: «Then you should in every thing yourself stimulate them to achievements». The char. 24 has two readings: *g'ôk / γdk / h ü e 'to learn'; and (causative:) g'ôg / γau / h i a o 'to cause to learn, to teach, to instruct' (in this sense sometimes enlarged into 27). There is a close parallelism between 25 'to emulate': 'to cause to emulate, to stimulate' and 24 'to learn': 'to cause to learn, to teach'. And the *g'ôg 26 'to cause to learn, to teach' and *g'ôg 25 'to cause to emulate, to stimulate' are indeed but two aspects of one and the same word stem. Evidently Fu Sheng did not read his 24 as *g'ôk / γdk / h ü e 'to learn', but as (= 27) *g'ôg / γau / h i a o 'to teach, to instruct'. Hence his version on this point becomes practically synonymous with PK'ung's version, which has 28 *kôg / kau / k i a o 'to teach' (yet another aspect of the same stem). If we take PK'ung's k u n g 29 as short-form for Fu Sheng's 30 (the two words are cognate, and the characters often interchangeable), we obtain, in close agreement with Fu Sheng: «Then you should in everything (teach) instruct them to achievements». — B. PK'ung: «Then you should in everything yourself instruct your officers». — C. Sun Yi-jang: k i a o 28 and 24 stand for 25 in the sense of 'to achieve, to effect': «Then you should (command them) s i t s i all themselves to effect their achievements». — No reason for abandoning the earliest version and interpr.

J u t s i k' i p' e n g see Gl. 1331.

1760. K ü e j o y i k i f u s h i j u y ü 31.

F u s h i:

PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrase 32, without explaining the f u, which has several meanings. The fundamental sense being 'to lay the hand on', hence often 'to soothe, tranquillize', Legge says «your soothing measures», Couvreur on the contrary «réglez toutes choses». But f u 33 can also mean 'to accommodate oneself to, to follow' 34, see Gl. 1685; Kiang Sheng therefore paraphrases 35 «accommodate yourself to the (government) affairs». This making poor sense, Sun Sing-yen turns it differently: 36 «follow the precedent affairs» (i. e. old traditions). But the single s h i 37 of the Shu text of course means nothing of the sort. In fact, by a natural extension of meaning f u 'to lay the hand on' means 'to take in hand, to handle': f u s h i «to handle the affairs».

The whole line:

卽命曰記功宗以功作元祀 22. 日 23. 曰 24. 越 25. 功宗 26. 司勳 27. 秩宗 28. 宗工 29. 宗祀文王
100. 元祀 1. 功 2. 記 3. 祀 4. 功 5. 公 6. 公宗 7. 惠于宗公 8. 卽命 9. 命 10. 命曰 11. 卽 12. 宗 13.
惟命曰汝受命篤弼丕視功載 14. 篤 15. 督 16. 丕 17. 斯 18. 載 19. 哉 20. 斯視事哉 21. 事 22. 乃汝
其悉自教工 23. 乃汝其悉息學功 24. 學 25. 效 26. 王效邦君 27. 敷 28. 教 29. 工 30. 功 31. 厥若彝
及撫事如予 32. 撫國事 33. 撫 34. 循 35. 撫循政事 36. 循故事 37. 事 38. 厥若 39. 我其克灼知厥

A. PK'ung punctuates: *k'ue jo yi, ki fu shi, ju yü*. Thus: «In following the laws and in handling the affairs, be like me». — B. Yü Sing-wu: There are two *Shu* ex. in which a line ends by *k'ue jo* 38: *Li cheng* 39 and *K'ang wang chi kao* 40. Yü therefore would carry *k'ue jo* to the preceding line: 41; but a line *sü fu k'i ts'ue k'ue jo* makes no sense. Yü, however, similarly carries the *yü* 42 to the following line, and thus obtains, as a remainder, a line: *yi ki fu shi ju* 43 in which *fu* 33 would mean 34 = 'to obey' and *ju* 44 would stand for 45, thus: «I will yi constantly come to and obey and serve you». Exceedingly forced. — C. Sun Yi-jang would take *jo yi* 46 as = 47 «as usual», but the following *ki* 48 is then less natural than in interpr. A.

1761. *P'ing hiang tsi yu liao* 49.

A. PK'ung: «Cause them to *hiang tsi* go to *yu liao* the offices they shall have». But *liao* does not mean 'office' but 'officer' or rather 'colleague'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after *hiang*: «p'ing cause them to (know your) *hiang* intentions, (may they) go to the offices they shall have». An extraordinary forcing of the text. — C. Sun Sing-yen: *yu* 50 stands for 51 (homophonous char., often interchangeable): «Make them *hiang tsi* turn to *yu liao* their colleagues».

Ming tso yu kung cf. Gl. 1446. *Tun ta ch'eng yü* see Gl. 1630.

1762. *Ju yung yu ts'i* 52.

A. PK'ung: «You will forever have (words about you =) praise». Kiang Sheng in support adduces an analogous line in Ode 278, phr. 53 «In order to perpetuate the fame». Sun Sing-yen, evidently troubled by the difficulty that *ts'i* 'words, speech' should mean 'praise, fame', argues that 54 (often wr. 55) **ziag / zi / ts'i* (even tone) stands for 56 (same sound, but falling tone) 'afterwards, to follow after, inherit' etc., thus: «that which comes after» in the sense of Germ. 'Nachruf'. This seems unnecessary; nothing could be more natural, as an extension of meaning, than this: you will forever be spoken of: you will forever have (words about you =) praise. — B. Yü Sing-wu, who carries the preceding 57 here, and takes this as = 58, says 54 (**ziag*) stands for 59 (**diag / i / y i*) 'cheerful': *yü ju yung yu yi* «I wish that you forever shall have joy». Arbitrary and unnecessary loan speculations.

1763. *Ju wei ch'ung tsi, wei chung* 60.

A. PK'ung: «You, young man, may you (bring to an end =) achieve (the work)». — B. Yü Yüe: in several early texts there is the variant *ch'ung* 61 for 62 (see Gl. 140); hence *chung* 61 can here also serve for *ch'ung* 60 'exalted', and the line means: «You are a young man, but exalted» (in your position). An unnecessary loan speculation.

1764. *Ju k'i king shi (chi) po pi hiang* 63.

A. PK'ung reads this as one line; he does not tell us how he read 64. K'ung Ying-ta took it in the reading **siak / siak / shi* 'to know': «You should with careful attention know (which of) the many princes bring offerings». But Kiang Sheng better reads 64 **iag / tsi / chi* 'to commemorate, to record' (common): «You should carefully record (which of) the many princes bring offerings». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after *king*: «You should be carefully attentive; (then) you will know which» etc. This is certainly no improvement.

1765. *Wei shi k'i shuang wu* 65.

A. PK'ung: «The affairs (of the government) will be *shuang* faulty and *wu* disgraced». — B. Chang Ping-lin: in Ode 164 the line *wai yü k'i wu* 66 has the variant *k'i wu* 67 in Tso. If 66 'business' can be loan char. for 67 'to disgrace', the latter could equally well serve for the former, and the line means: «As to the affairs, it will *shuang* make faulty the business». But, as expl. in our Gl. 413, *wu* 66 in the

Ode stands for 68 'to maltreat' (**m̥iug*), and 67 (**m̥i*) is not a variant for the same word, but a gloss word explaining 66. Thus 67 (**m̥i*) certainly cannot serve for 66 (**m̥iug*) 'business'. — C. Shī 69 'affair' does not refer to the »affairs of government» but to the »performance» of the great sacrifices (as often). The princes come to court to contribute their offerings to these sacred rites: »The performances (of the sacrifices) will be faulty and disgraced».

1766. Nai wei ju tsī pan chen pu hia t'ing chen kiao ju 70.

A. Shuowen quotes: 71, defining this 72 as = fen 73 'to divide'. Cheng Hūan likewise defines the 74 of the Ku-wen text as = fen 73. Shīwen reads 74 here **pwan* / *pwan* / p a n, considering it as a variant for 75 'to distribute'. The 72, unknown in Ts'ie yün, is read **p̥iən* / *p̥iən* / p i n in Kuang yün. From Hū's quotation it follows that he punctuated after p i n, not taking the following words as a direct object of that verb. Hence Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen read: nai wei ju tsī p i n (p a n), chen pu hia t'ing, chen kiao ju, and consider t'ing as short for t'ing cheng 76 »to hear the affairs of Government», i. e. to administer government, a common phr. (e. g. Tso *passim*). Thus: »You, youngster, should share (with me); I have no sufficient time for hearing (sc. all the affairs of government); I will teach you». There is far too much unexpressed to be supplied, acc. to this interpr. But above all, 74 (of which 72 is obviously but a variant) is common meaning 73 in the sense of 'to divide, to distribute', then obviously id. w. 75 and read **pwan* / *pwan* / p a n, e. g. Li: Tsi yi: p a n k' i n 77 »to distribute the game (caught in the hunt)», but it never means 'to share in, to partake of'. — B. PK'ung divides differently: nai wei ju tsī, p a n (p i n) chen pu hia, t'ing chen kiao ju: »You, youngster, should share in what I have no sufficient time for; listen to my instructions to you». This is unreasonable talk on the occasion when Chou Kung hands over the whole government to the king. And the same objection obtains here: p a n means 'to divide, to distribute', not 'to share in'. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en, while stating that he does not understand the phr., quotes a proposal to this effect: »You youngster should p a n (distribute =) signalize everywhere my having no leisure (i. e. how hard-working I am)». (Couvreur turns it differently: »Etendez les institutions que je n'ai pas eu le temps de développer»). — D. Sun Yi-jang punctuates like A, but takes p a n 74 = 'to distribute' (very common) in the sense of 'to dispense bounties to', referring to the earlier »recording of merits»; wei ju tsī p a n: »You, youngster, should dispense (bounties), chen pu hia t'ing but I have no leisure to (listen to =) receive (sc. any recompense)», a modest pu k a n 78 (!) An absurd idea. — E. Chu Tsün-sheng: Shuowen's char. 79 (**pwan* / *pwan* / p a n) must be a variant for our 74. And it is defined by Hū as = 80. Thus 74 should mean fu shī 80 »to distribute the tasks (of work)» (This is the meaning of the term fu shī, e. g. in Kyū: Lu yū hia). Chang Ping-lin accepts this idea of Chu's and punctuates after hia: »You, youngster, should distribute (the tasks), I have no leisure (for it)». — F. Chuang Shu-tsu believes that the first chen 81 should be 82, as a variant for hū n 83, and that 84 stands for the 85 'not far away' of the Odes (see Gl. 111): »You, youngster, p a n hū n your spreading the teachings (of Wen and Wu) p u hia should it not be

若 42 用 奉恤厥若 41. 敘弗其絕 42. 予 43. 齊及撫事如 44. 如 45. 汝 46. 若齊 47. 如常日 48 及 49.
 何需即有僚 50 有 51 友 52. 汝永有辭 53. 以永終譽 54. 辭 55 詞 56. 嗣 57. 裕 58. 欲 59. 怡 60. 汝惟
 沖子惟終 61. 崇 62. 終 63. 汝其敬識百辟享 64. 識 65. 惟事其奕侮 66. 務 67. 侮 68. 教 69. 事 70. 乃
 惟孺子頒朕不暇聽朕教汝 71. 乃惟孺子攸 72. 攸 73. 分 74. 頒 75. 班 76. 聽政 77. 頒禽 78. 不敢

far-reaching». — G. Yü Sing-wu adduces various ex. in which the phonetics 73 and 86 interchange in the phonetic series (Ode 221, phr. 87: Ode 233, phr. 88 etc.) and proposes that 74 is loan char. for 89 'to overthrow': «If you, youngster, overthrow (things), I shall have no leisure to t'ing (listen to =) follow you». A curious speculation. — H. Another interpr. We should follow the earliest interpunctation and read 74 p a n, since it is exceedingly well attested as a variant for 75 which means 'to divide, distribute, range in a series, acc. to rank, a rank'. But unlike all the interpr. above p a n is not a transitive verb with an object understood. The line is explained by a par. in Tso: Siang 12, phr. 90: «When his promotion does not exceed his class, his position (is ranked =) is put in its proper rank». Our line thus means: «Now you, youngster, p a n are (ranked =) put in your proper rank (as king), but I shall not be idle, you should listen to my instructions to you». 1767. Yü fei min yi 91.

A. PK'ung: «(my instructions to you) in the constant norms of aiding the people». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes min in the genitive: «in aiding the people's constant nature». — C. Sun Yi-jang: fei 92 is loan char. for fei 93. We saw in Gl. 1609 and 1674 various Shu ex. in which 92 in this way serves for 93, and Sun adduces as par. the Lü hing passage below and also Shao kao: yung fei yi 94 «(the people) use (what is not the proper norms =) irregular practises». Thus: «(My instructions to you) in regard to fei what is not min yi the proper practises of the people». — We compare:

Shu: Lü hing: Shuai yi yü min fei yi 95.

A. PK'ung: shuai following (the proper path) yi yü min they governed the people fei yi and aided (promoted) the constant norms». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «They led on and governed the people, and aided their constant nature». — C. Kiang Sheng prefers to take shuai as = 96 'to follow': «Shuai following (this), they governed» etc. (= A). Sun Sing-yen, on the other hand, says 97 is a «particle» (quite unfounded). — D. Sun Yi-jang: fei 92 here again is equal to 98; and we may add, with Legge (see his index), that shuai means 'all, in everything' (cf. Gl. 642, 1089, 1350, 1406), thus: «In all they (regulated =) brought order into the irregular practices of the people». — In both these cases Sun is evidently right, in the light of the Shu par. in Gl. 1609 and 1674.

1768. Tu sü nai cheng fu 99.

A. PK'ung explains sü 100 by 1 'to arrange in order', and cheng fu refers to Wu wang: «Solidly (arrange in order =) keep in order (the principles of) your correct father». — B. Kiang Sheng believes that cheng fu means your «elder fathers» i. e. «uncles». — C. Sun Sing-yen: cheng fu means 2 'principal officers'. Chang Ping-lin further adduces Yi Chou shu: Ch'eng k'ai, which enumerates officers titled yen-fu 3, hien-fu 4, cheng-fu 5, ki-fu 6 and he points out that the si-ma could also be called k'i-fu 7 (Ode 185). Now tu sü should (with Kiang Sheng) be analogous to the 8 «If he amply regulates his nine family branches», and we obtain: «Amplify regulate your principal officers».

1769. Wang pu jo yü pu kan fei nai ming 9.

A. PK'ung punctuates after yü, interpreting: «If (in nothing you do not imitate me =) you follow my example in everything, they will not dare to reject your orders». — B. Sun Sing-yen: «(Of your officers) (none will not be like =) all will be like my (officers), and they will not» etc. Very far-fetched. — C. Chang Ping-lin would punctuate after jo: «Wang pu jo everything will be (compliant =) good, yü pu kan I dare not reject your orders». Chou Kung resigns his task as guardian and asserts that henceforth he will obey the king. — The earliest interpr. is best in the context. A theme already brought forward earlier: that the young king should follow the example of Chou Kung, is here further embroidered upon.

Ts'i yü k'i ming neng tsai, pi yü wo min see Gl. 1630. Wu yüan yung li see Gl. 582.

1770. Kung ming pao yü ch'ung tsi 10.

A. PK'ung takes this to refer to the coming time: »May the prince ming brightly pao tranquillize me, young man». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes it to be a reverent recognition of what Chou kung has done: »You, prince, ming enlighten and pao aid me, young man». — C. In fact, ming-pao is a standing binome »bright protector» and as such it even occurs in a cognomen (Ming-pao) of a son of Chou Kung in early Chou bronze inscriptions (cf Karlgren, BMFEA 8, p. 33). We must therefore translate: »You, prince, are a bright protector to me, young man».

1771. Yang Wen Wu lie, feng ta t'ien ming, ho heng si fang min 11.

Shang shu ta chuan has a slightly fuller formulation: 12.

There is no reason not to follow this earliest attested text version.

1772. Ho heng (wan pang) si fang min kü shi 13.

A. PK'ung: »To harmonize and (perpetuate =) forever preserve the people of the (myriad states and) the four quarters, and kü (cause to dwell =) settle shi their multitudes» (14 = 15). — B. Sun Sing-yen takes shi 14 to refer to Lo shi 16, the new capital, and would carry the last words kü shi to the next line. Chang Ping-lin likewise takes shi = 'capital', but divides as above, taking heng 17 as = 18 'everywhere' and interpreting: »to ho harmonize heng everywhere (such) people of the four quarters who kü shi settle in the capital». Ho heng explained thus is inadmissible; it should then be heng ho. — C. Another interpr. The young king describes the task which, with Chou Kung's aid, he has to take upon himself; and this is in connection with the creation of the new capital. Our chapter is closely connected with and a continuation of the preceding, Shao kao, where the founding is described, and there it is said that it was built in order to let the king 19 »manage the government in the centre of the land». This is obviously the key to our line here. Heng 17 stands here (with Chang Ping-lin in B above) for 20 keng, as in Ode 245, phr. 21: »He extended over it the black millet and the double-kernelled», on which Mao Heng: heng = 18 'everywhere, all over' (here as a transitive verb: 'to extend all over'). Thus our Shu line: »Uniting and (extending over) reaching to all the people of the myriad states and four quarters, to reside in the capital».

1773. Tun tsung tsiang li 22.

A. PK'ung: »tun amply tsung to show reverence for tsiang li the great rites». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, following up his theory that kung tsung 23 earlier in our chapter means »those distinguished by merits» (refuted in Gl. 1757), here says that tsung 24 means the same as the kung tsung there. Thus: »tun to give weight to tsiang li the great rites for tsung the meritorious ones». — C. In accordance with the arguments in Gl. 1757, tsung refers to the ancestral temple: »To give weight to the great rites of the ancestral temple».

77. 箕 80. 賦事 81. 朕 82. 侯 83. 訓 84. 不暇 85. 不瑕 86. 貢 87. 頒首 88. 墳首 89. 價 90. 舉不踰等則位
班 91. 于禁民弊 92. 禁 93. 匪 94. 用禁弊 95. 率义于民禁弊 96. 循 97. 率 98. 匪 99. 篤敘乃正父 100.
敘 1. 次敘 2. 政長 3. 言父 4. 顯父 5. 正父 6. 讎父 7. 祈父 8. 懋敘九族 9. 罔不若予不敢
廢乃命 10. 公明保于冲子 11. 揚文武烈奉答天命和恆四方民 12. 揚文武德烈奉對天命
和恆萬邦四方民 13. 和恆(萬邦)四方民居師 14. 師 15. 衆 16. 洛師 17. 恆 18. 徧 19. 服于土中 20.

1774. P'ang tso mu mu ya (yü) heng 25.

A. PK'ung reads 26 (a vulgar variant for 27) = 28 'to meet': »They (sc. the people) p'ang from all sides (come and) act mu mu reverently, in ya (meeting) welcoming heng (the balancing =) the adjustment (of the government)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »You p'ang everywhere act reverently to (meet =) welcome the adjustment (of the government)». — C. An edict of 220 A. D. quotes: yü heng pu mi 29, carrying here the first words of next line pu mi, and since Shîwen says that Ma Jung and Cheng Hüan both inst. of 26 *ngâ / nga / ya read *ngio / ngiwo / yü, it is evident that yü 30 was the original and true reading, and ya 26 is a substitute of Wei Pao's. On the other hand, Shang shu ta chuan quotes p'ang tso mu mu, which shows that Fu Sheng punctuated after mu, and Kiang Sheng follows this: p'ang tso mu mu, yü heng pu mi. He says p'ang 31 = 'vast' (refuted in Gl. 1234 above): »You vastly exert mu mu a fine (influence), and (you hold) the yü directing heng balance». Thus Kiang has to supply two essential notions not expressed in the text ('influence' and 'to hold'). — D. Chang Ping-lin, following the same interpunctuation as C, says that heng 32 (*g'äng, g'wäng) is equal to heng, hung 33 (g'wäng) (indeed the two are etym. one and the same word-stem) and means 'cross-wise, perverse'. He takes 30 in its reading *ngâ / nga / ya 'to meet' (well attested): ya heng pu mi = »meeting with contrarieties, you do not go astray». — E. Wu Ju-lun says that yü heng is a metaphor alluding to a chariot. This could make a plausible sense: »You yü direct heng the chariot-yoke without going astray». — F. Yü Sing-wu quotes with approval an idea of T'ang Lan's that yü heng 34 is an inversion of heng yü 35 and that this is but a variant of p'ang-wu 36, because wu 37 (*ngo) forms part of the char. yü 30 (*ngio), and because heng (*g'äng) and p'ang (*b'wäng) were »similar in sound» (!). P'ang-wu means 'crosswise, confused': »In confusions you do not go astray». — G. Another interpr. The young Ch'eng Wang here addresses his former guardian and foremost helper Chou Kung. In the same way T'ang had had in Yi Yin a great and trusted assistant. And Yi Yin was called O-heng 38 (Ode 304); and T'ai Kia had a similar trusted assistant called Pao-heng 39 (Shu: Kün Shī). With the word heng cropping up in so similar conditions, it is almost inevitable to conclude that our Yü-heng 34 here is a laudatory epithet analogous to O-heng and Pao-heng. Heng in these terms means (the balance of a steelyard = »the balancer» =) »the adjuster, arbiter» (Cheng Hüan on Shu: Pao heng says heng = 40 'the equalizer, adjuster'). In Hanfei the metaphor is still living: 41 'to keep the balance' = 'to govern'. Heng forms part of various office titles, e. g. Chouli: Ti kuan: lin heng 42 »adjuster (director) of the forests», etc. To the O-heng 38, »Arbiter to be leaned on», honorific title of Yi Yin, and to the Pao-heng »Protecting arbiter», title of T'ai K'ia's helper, corresponds here Yü-heng 34 »directing arbiter», laudatory epithet for Chou Kung. For mu mu = 'august' see Gl. 757. Tso 43 = 'to be' see Gl. 806. Thus: »Everywhere you are an august directing arbiter (who does not go astray etc.)». Thus, in spite of the Han traditions (Fu Sheng etc.), the line should really be read together as a whole. For mu mu yü heng of Ode 235, phr. 44 mu mu Wen Wang »August (was) Wen Wang».

1775. Pu mi Wen Wu k'in kiao 45.

A. PK'ung: »You do not go astray in regard to the earnest instructions of Wen and Wu». — B. Since an imperial edict of 220 A. D. quotes pu mi as belonging together with the preceding line (yü heng pu mi), Kiang Sheng would take wen wu k'in kiao as an independant clause, and he interprets wen wu, not as the names of Wen Wang and Wu Wang but as in Ode 177, phr. 46 »The accomplished and martial Ki-fu». Thus: »Accomplished and martial you earnestly instruct (the people)». This is very unreasonable, since only a couple of lines earlier we had: yang Wen Wu tê lie 47 »extol

the virtuous deeds of Wen and Wu». — C. Sun Sing-yen likewise punctuates after *p u m i*, but reads the next passage together with the following: *Wen Wu k'in kao yü ch'ung ts'i* 48: «With (the deeds of) Wen Wu you earnestly instruct me, young man». That Wen Wu should be equal to *yi Wen Wu (ch'i lie)* 49 is out of the question. Chuang Shu-tsu's construction of *Wen Wu k'in kao*: «Wen's zealous instructions to Wu» is still more impossible. — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr. A, which does not necessarily disagree with the Han-time division of the line: the quotation *yü heng pu mi* simply cites the first part of the line, leaving out an adverbial phrase *Wen Wu k'in kao*.

1776. *Kung kung fei ti tu wang pu jo shi* 50.

A. PK'ung: «Your achievements have aided and guided me strongly, there is nobody who does not *jo shi* approve of them». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «Your... strongly, (may it not happen that it is not like that =) may it be so for ever». — C. Kiang Sheng: «Your achievements have aided and guided me strongly, (there will be nothing in which I shall not imitate those =) I shall imitate those in everything». This is a direct counterpart to the earlier passage where the prince said to the king: *wang pu jo yü* 51 «if (in nothing you do not imitate me =) you follow my example in everything», see Gl. 1769. — D. Sun Sing-yen: «Your... strongly, there is nothing that is not like that» (i. e. all is such as I have said). — E. Sun Yi-jang would punctuate after *ti*, and believes that since *yü* 52 and 53 are interchangeable, our *ti* 54 can likewise be equal to 53 (!), which he defines by *t'u* 55 'to estimate'. *Tu* would mean 'truly, indeed, really', and *fei* stands for *fei* 'not' as often in the Shu (see Gl. 1609, 1674). Thus: «Your achievements, I have not estimated them, but truly they are all like that». A very far-fetched interpr. — The parallelism adduced by Kiang is conclusive.

1777. *Yü siao ts'i k'i t'uei tsi pi yü Chou ming kung hou* 56.

A. PK'ung: «I, little child, will withdraw (sc. from the meeting) and go and be sovereign in Chou, and give investiture to a successor for you» (sc. in Lu, since Chou Kung was to stay with the king as his adviser). Later in our chapter we find: *Wang ming tso ts'ê Yi chu ts'ê wei kao Chou Kung k'i hou* 57: «The king ordered to make a brevet, and Yi recited the brevet, and announced (sc. to the Spirits) that Chou Kung (would be succeeded =) was to have a successor (in Lu)» — the announcement being recorded in Ode. 300 (For Sun Yi-jang's and Wang Kuo-wei's theory that *tso ts'ê* «Maker of Brevet» was a title synonymous with *nei shi* 58 «Scribe of the interior», see Gl. 1558 and 1794). And further: *wang ming Chou Kung hou tso ts'ê Yi kao tsai shi yü er yüe* 59 «The king's giving investiture to Chou Kung's successor, his making a brevet, and Yi's announcement (thereof) were in the 12th month». The interpr. of *ming kung hou* 60 = «give investiture to a successor for you» (sc. Po K'in in Lu) was already given by Cheng Hsian. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, in the wake of earlier Sung scholars, believes that Chou here refers to the original capital Hao. Indeed, it could very well be so, for Hao was also called Tsung Chou 61, and Lo was called Ch'eng Chou 62,

互 21. 恆(互)之矩經 22. 悼宗將禮 23. 功宗 24. 宗 25. 考作穆穆遷衡 26. 遷 27. 訝 28. 迎 29. 御衡不
迷 30. 御 31. 旁 32. 僕 33. 橫 34. 御衡 35. 衡御 36. 旁午 37. 午 38. 阿衡 39. 保衡 40. 平 41. 持衡 42. 林衡
43. 作 44. 穆穆文王 45. 不迷文武勤教 46. 文武吉甫 47. 揚文武德烈 48. 予冲子 49. 以文武之
烈 50. 公功棗迪篤罔不若時 51. 罔不若予 52. 由 53. 猷 54. 迪 55. 圖 56. 予小子 其退即辟于周
命公後 57. 王命作冊逸祀冊惟告周公其後 58. 內史 59. 王命周公後作冊逸誥在十有二

and both occur in our present chapter under the short-form Chou (»Take the officers existing in [the original] Chou, go to the new city»; »I have sent them to follow the king to [the new] Chou»). And then he takes *hou* to mean 'to stay behind': »I, the little child, will now retire and *pi* (= 63) withdraw to (the original) Chou, and I order you *hou* to stay behind (in Lo)». In consequence, these Sung authors carry through the same idea in the subsequent paragraphs: »... Yi recited the brevet, (which) announced (to the Spirits) that Chou King would stay behind». And: »The king's ordering Chou Kung to stay behind ...» etc. There is in fact nothing incongruous in the idea that the king issued a solemn brevet, ordering Chou Kung to be his vice-regent in the eastern capital. B is in fact very tempting; in point of language it is indeed preferable to A, which has to take *hou* 64 as a noun in the first phr. and as a verb in the second. But B goes directly against the contents of the chapter as a whole. Chou Kung sends for the king and persuades him to come to Lo (Ch'eng Chou) in order to take up the government with officers brought for that purpose from Hao (Tsung Chou), Lo being a more central and dominating point than Hao and having been built expressly for that reason. He implores the young king to follow his advice in everything, and the king solemnly promises to do so. It would be curious indeed if he immediately turned the back on the new capital, to return to Hao, acting directly against the urgent appeal of Chou Kung.

1778. *Sī fang ti luan wei ting yü tsung li yi wei k'o mi kung kung* 65.

For the last line see Gl. 1600 above.

A. PK'ung divides: *Sī fang ti luan* »(Though) the (lands of) the four quarters are guided and ordered, *wei ting yü tsung li* there is still nothing settled about the honoured rites ...». In the 1st line PK'ung explains *ti luan* 66 by 67. Kiang Sheng (foll. by Sun Sing-yen) prefers to take *ti* as = 68 'to advance': »Though the (lands of) the four quarters have advanced to good order». In the second line Ts'ai Ch'en (foll. by Sun Sing-yen) explains: »... there is still nothing settled about the rites for the meritorious ones». All these comm. taking *luan* 69 = 70 'to order, bring into order', it should then properly be read *sī* 71 = 72, see Gl. 1464. — B. Wang Yin-chi (ap. Liu Feng-lu) divided thus: *Sī fang ti luan wei ting, yü tsung li yi wei k'o mi*, carrying *kung kung* to the following passage; and Liu Feng-lu, saying *ti* 73 = 74 = 75, i. e. a particle (which is quite unwarranted), explains: »The four quarters' ordering has not yet been settled, and in the rites of the ancestral temple it has also not been possible to make a completion». Wang's division of the lines goes against the Han tradition, for Shuowen quotes: *yi wei k'o mi kung kung*. — C. Chang Ping-lin, reverting to the ancient punctuation, adduces Erya *Shi ku: ti* 73 = 76 and takes *luan* in its ordinary sense: »The (lands of) the four quarters have made rebellion». The rebellion referred to of course is that of the princes Kuan, Ts'ai and Huo. But there are no text ex. in support of Erya's definition. Yet Chang's idea that *luan* should have its regular meaning is quite convincing, and also that he takes *tsung* to refer to the ancestral temple (cf. Gl. 1757 above). Thus: »The (lands of) the four quarters *ti* have been led to *luan* rebellion, and there is still nothing settled about the rites in the ancestral temple».

1779. *Ti tsiang k'i hou* 77.

PK'ung: »May you guide and support me in future». For *tsiang* in the sense of 'to uphold, support, aid', see Gl. 403. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases 78, taking *tsiang* in its sense of 'great' (common). What Ts'ai meant by his paraphrase has been differently understood (Couvreur for instance: »You shall start great things for your successors»), but probably, as expounded by Ku Si-ch'ou, he meant: »Make great your staying behind», i. e. let it result in great things. In any case his definition *ti* 73 = 79 has no support.

1780. Kien wo shī shī kung 80.

A. PK'ung: Shī 81 = 'to have service, to serve' (common) and shī kung 82 = 83: «Supervise all my serving officials». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «Be a (mirror:) example to my serving officials». No reason to abandon the oldest interpr.

Luan (sī) wei sī fu see Gl. 1697.

1781. Kung ting yü wang yi kung kung su tsiang chī huan 84.

A. PK'ung divides: kung ting, yü wang yi, kung kung su tsiang, chī huan, explaining: «May you, prince, (fix =) firmly establish (me), I shall go (sc. to Lo); your merits are su advanced and tsiang great; (all in the world) chī respect and rejoice (in them)». For su he bases himself on Erya: su 85 = 86, but there are no text par. in support of this. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «May you, prince, (establish yourself =) stay (sc. in Lo), I shall go (sc. to Hao); your achievements, (people will) su tsiang reverently accept them chī huan and respectfully rejoice in them». — C. Kiang Sheng: yi 87 should be read as yi 88 marking an object placed before the verb, and wang 89 means wang jī 90 'in past days'. Tsiang 91 = feng 92 'to hold, to support': «May you, prince, stay (with me); wang in the past I have su tsiang revered and upheld your achievements and chī huan respected and rejoiced in them». — D. Chang Ping-lin punctuates after su (= 86, after Erya, cf. A above) and takes yi 87 = 88 and huan 93 = k'üan 94: «May you, prince, stay; yü wang that I have gone, (is that) yi kung kung because of your achievements su I have advanced; tsiang chī k'üan I shall respect and take encouragement from (you)». — E. Yü Sing-wu: yi 87 is a fault for sī 95, huan 93 stands for kuan 96, thus: «May you, prince, stay, yü wang sī I shall go and sacrifice about your achievements (i. e. announce them in the temple), su tsiang I shall reverently bring forward (the offerings) and chī kuan respectfully make libation». Far too many and arbitrary text alterations. — F. Another interpr. The passage refers directly to the main theme of our chapter: that Chou Kung built Lo and brought the young king there: Kung ting yü wang yi «You, prince, have (fixed =) arranged for my going (to Lo); kung kung your achievements (there) will su quickly be respected and (rejoiced in =) admired». Tsiang is the ordinary mark of future. Su 85 = 'quickly' is well attested, see Gl. 54 and 735.

1782. Kung wu k'un tsai wo wei wu yi k'i k'ang shī 97.

A. PK'ung: «May you, prince, not distress me (sc. by going away), I am not weary of (your) tranquillizing work». Wu Ch'eng already observed that thrice in the Han shu the first line was quoted kung wu k'un wo 98, and henceforth it was accepted that wo 99 is correct and tsai 100 an error, due to graphical similarity with wo 99. — B. Yü Yüe, however, points out that in Yi Chou shu: Tsi kung the line is quoted kung wu k'un wo tsai 1, so that there should be both wo and tsai, but, instead, the following wo should be eliminated. In other words, an original wo tsai has been inverted into tsai wo. The correct text should be: kung wu k'un wo tsai, wei wu yi k'i k'ang shī. But then it is not «I» that is subject in the second clause, but the exhortation in the first line continues: «May you, prince, not

月 60. 命公後 61. 宗周 62. 成周 63. 避 64. 後 65. 四方迪亂未定于宗禮亦未克教公功 66. 迪亂
67. 道治 68. 進 69. 亂 70. 治 71. 嗣 72. 司 73. 迪 74. 適 75. 事 76. 作 77. 迪將其後 78. 啓大其後 79. 啓 80.
監我士師工 81. 士 82. 師工 83. 衆官 84. 公定于往已公功肅將祗歡 85. 肅 86. 進 87. 已 88. 以 89.
往 90. 往日 91. 將 92. 奉 93. 歡 94. 勸 95. 祀 96. 濯 97. 公無困哉我惟無斁其康事 98. 困我 99. 我 100.

distress me (sc. by going away), do not weary of your tranquillizing work». — C. Chang Ping-lin would preserve the orthodox reading *kung wu k'un tsai*, and says (after Fang yen) *k'un* = 2: »May you, prince, not run away». But this dialect word in middle-Han time is not attested in pre-Han time (the ex. adduced in support by Chang, Tso: Siang 22, is ambiguous).

1783. *Wu yi k'i k'ang shi* 3.

A. The traditional interpr. of *k'ang shi* is »the tranquillizing work». *K'ang* 4 in this sense is very common in the Shu. — B. Chang Ping-lin: *k'ang* 4 should be read *keng* 5 and this again stands for *keng* 6, *keng shi* 7 being a well-known phr. meaning 'to attend to business' (properly: 'to run through the affairs'). An unnecessary loan speculation.

1784. *Ch'eng pao nai wen tsu shou ming min* 8.

A. PK'ung: »To take care of and (guard =) watch over the people received in charge by your grandfather Wen». — B. Cheng Hsuan says: *wen tsu* 9, under Chou it was called *ming t'ang* 10 »The bright hall», thus referring *wen tsu* to the hall where the ancestor was revered and not to Wen Wang himself: »To take care of and guard the people which you have been charged with in the ancestral hall». — In the next line we have correspondingly *k'ao Wu Wang* 11 »your father Wu wang», which makes it most reasonable to take our *Wen tsu* here as »grandfather Wen (Wang)».

1785. *Yue nai kuang lie k'ao Wu Wang hung chen kung* 12. *Hung* 13 has the variant 14.

A. PK'ung paraphrases 15. The preposition *yü* 16 in the beginning (rendering our *yüe* 17) makes PK'ung's line meaningless and impossible to construe. — B. With Cheng Hsuan's idea in the preceding line (see 1784), that *Wen tsu* there refers to the Ming-t'ang hall, the consequence here will be this interpr.: »In your bright and majestic father Wu wang's (shrine) I shall *hung* make great my reverence». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: *yüe* 17 = 18 'and'; the line as far as *wang* should be read together with the preceding: »(The people received in charge by your grandfather Wen) and your bright and majestic father Wu Wang; I will enlarge my reverence (for you)». — D. The oldest interpr. is quite different, revealed by a paraphrase in Shang shu ta chuan: 19. Here *yüe* 17 is rendered by *yang* 20 'to raise, extol, proclaim', a well attested meaning of *yüe*, see Gl. 1068, 1692. Fu Sheng instead of *chen* 21 has *hün* 22, and Chuang Shu-tsu adduces Shuowen, which says that 23 was a *ku-wen* form for *hün* 22. The following *kung* 24 should then acc. to Chuang be carried to the next line: 25. Thus our line, ending with (*chen* =) *hün*, will mean: »I shall extol your bright and majestic father Wu Wang's *hung hün* great teachings». — E. Sun Yi-jang: *yüe* 17 = 26 and *kung* 24 should be *kung* 27 (as often in the Shu; wrongly enlarged into 24 by Wei Pao, see Gl. 1401): »(I shall) together with your bright and majestic father Wu Wang *hung* make great *chen kung* (my furnishing =) my service». This »together with» said of the dead Wu Wang is rather nonsensical. — F. Chang Ping-lin: *kung* 27 means 28 'law', as in Ode 304: »(To take care of and guard *ming* the charge and *min* the people of your grandfather Wen) *yüe* 17 and *hün* 22 the teachings and *kung* 27 laws which your bright and majestic father Wu *hung* made great». But *kung* = 'law' 28 (Mao Heng) is inadmissible, see Gl. 1196. — G. Wang Sien-k'ien: *hung hün kung* 29 is an inversion of *kung hung hün* 30 »to (furnish =) accomplish the great teachings». A poor expedient. — The testimony of the Ta chuan (D above) is quite clear: Fu Sheng's text read: *Yue nai kuang lie k'ao Wu Wang hung hün* 31, and the line ended there. Since Chuang Shu-tsu has satis-

factorily explained how *hün* came to be corrupted into *chen*, we have no reason whatever for not following the earliest version. For *kung* see next gloss.

1786. *Ju tsī lai siang tsê* 32.

A. PK'ung: »When the young son (now) comes to inspect the settlement». — B. Legge: »My son, come (frequently) and inspect this settlement» (!). — C. As shown by Chuang Shu-tsu in Gl. 1785 above, the line should begin with *kung*: *kung ju tsī lai siang tsê* 33: »Together with you, my young son, I will come and inspect the (new) settlement». This is merely a logical continuation of the preceding: the king exhorts Chou Kung not to leave him in his new capital, and Chou Kung promises to stay and assist him.

1787. *K'ī ta tun tien Yin hien jen* 34.

A. PK'ung takes *tien* as a verb: »May you greatly and amply *tien* 35 make laws for Yin's eminent men». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »May you *ta tun* (treat as great and ample =) greatly estimate *tien* the laws and Yin's eminent men». — C. Kiang Sheng: »May you greatly and amply *tien* take the norms from Yin's eminent men». — D. Chuang Shu-tsu would carry *Yin hien min* to the following line, which is certainly no improvement. — E. Yü Sing-wu, mentioning several more attempts at explanation of *tien* 35 (= 36 'to tranquillize', or = 37 'to honour'), himself interprets it as = 'to record, to register', thus: »May you grandly and amply register (for office) Yin's eminent men». *Tien* is common in the sense of 'a record, a register' (e. g. Tso: Chao 15) and, especially, in the binome *tien tsi* 38 (Tso, Meng etc. *passim*), but also as a verb, e. g. the K'ō sū 39 inscr.: 40 »to register the fields and men of the shan-fu K'ō». — E. Another interpr. *Tien* 35 occurs as a verb in the Shu meaning 'to govern, to regulate, to direct', as is Yao *tien* (Shun *tien*) 41 »Is there anybody who can direct my three (categories of) rites?» Ibid. 42 »I charge you to be the director of music»; Shu: Lü hing 43 »You managers of government and directors of criminal cases». Cf. Ts'ê: Ch'u ts'ê 2, phr. 44 »I direct (govern) the eastern lands»; Hanfei: Er ping 45 »He who (governed =) managed the caps»; and many titles of officers in the Chouli (*tien juei* 46 etc.). Thus: »May you grandly and amply direct Yin's eminent people». That this is the proper meaning, in preference to D, which in itself is quite plausible and even tempting, is confirmed by the parallelism with the next line: *luan (sī) wei sī fang sin pi* 47 which does not (with the traditional comm.) mean »to govern and be the new ruler of the four quarters», but: »to govern and manage the new princes of the four quarters», see Gl. 1696. The *luan (sī) wei* 'to govern and manage' in that line corresponds to the *tien* 'to direct' in the present line, which decides in favour of E.

1787b. 1. *Tso Chou kung sien* 48.

2. *Tso Chou fu sien* 49.

A. PK'ung: 1. »You will be, of the Chou (house), the one revered and (first-placed =) honoured». 2. »I will be, of the Chou (house), the one by the faithful ones (first-placed =)

哉 1. 因哉哉 2. 逃 3. 無數其康事 4. 康 5. 庚 6. 更 7. 更事 8. 承保乃文祖受命民 9. 文祖
10. 明堂 11. 考武王 12. 越乃光烈考武王宏朕恭 13. 宏 14. 弘 15. 於汝大業之父武王大使我
恭奉其道 16. 於 17. 越 18. 及 19. 以揚武王之大訓 20. 揚 21. 朕 22. 訓 23. 侯 24. 恭 25. 恭孺子來相
宅 26. 與 27. 共 28. 法 29. 宏訓 共 30. 共宏訓 31. 越乃光烈考武王宏訓 32. 孺子來相宅 33. 共孺
子來相宅 34. 其大悖典殷獻人 35. 典 36. 撫 37. 禮 38. 典籍 39. 克盤 40. 典膳夫克田人 41. 有能
典朕三體 42. 命汝典樂 43. 四方司政典獄 44. 我典主東地 45. 典冠者 46. 典瑞 47. 亂為四方

honoured». This inconsistency (kung sien coördinated, but fu sien with fu as agent to the verb sien) is inadmissible. Wang Sien-k'ien therefore amends line 2: I will be, of the Chou (house), the one fu trusted and (first-placed =) honoured». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: 1. You will be the one of the Chou house who in regard to reverence (goes before =) sets an example». 2. I will be the one of the Chou house who in regard to faithfulness (goes before =) sets an example». — **C.** Kiang Sheng: 1. »In establishing the Chou (house), you shall make reverence the first thing». 2. »In establishing the Chou house, I shall make faithfulness the first thing». — **D.** Sun Yi-jang: Kung 50 here again (cf. his ideas in Gl. 1785), should be 51 = 52 = 'to furnish' in the sense 'to do service'. Thus Chou kung 53 means »Chou's (work-furnishers) public servants». And in the same way Chou fu 54 means »Chou's faithful ones» (»les fidèles de Chou»), those bound to Chou by fealty. Sien = »the one who goes in front, the leader» (common). Thus: 1. »You will be a leader to the (furnishers =) public servants of Chou». 2. »I shall be a leader to the faithful ones (henchmen) of Chou». Sun (preceded by Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen) proposes that in To fang 55 kung likewise means 'to furnish (work), to serve': »Hia's many (furnishing =) serving officials». It is true that kung is common in this sense, but then as a rule with an object expressed: kung chi 56 'to discharge a duty' (comm.) etc. That Chou kung 53 in the abstract (with no object to the verb kung) should mean 'Chou's servants, officials', is very strained and unlikely. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin would take kung 51 as = 57 'law' (refuted in Gl. 1196, cf. Gl. 1785 above) and fu 58 as a short-form for fu 59 'city wall'. But the two lines could not then be construed in an analogous way. — **F.** Another interpr. The lines should be understood in the light of the events. Chou Kung and the king take up the rule in Lo in Honan, in reality enemy country, and the king therefore brings along his own Chou officers from Hao to mix them with the remaining Yin officials. The important thing is to make the Chou and their henchmen predominate. Sien 60 means 'to take precedence', very common, e. g. Tso: Ai 13, phr. 61 »Wu and Tsin quarrelled about the precedence». Thus 1. »Cause the Chou to be respected and take precedence»; »I will cause the Chou to be trusted and take precedence». For tso 62 in this function cf. Tso: Siang 18, phr. 63 »Do not cause the spirits to be shamed». For fu 'to trust', cf. Ode 235, phr. 64 »The myriad states will (make confidence =) trust you».

1788. K'ao chen chao tsi hing, nai tan Wen tsu tê 65.

A. Ma Jung defines tan 66 by 67 'sincere' (common), evidently interpreting the 2nd line thus: »Be sincere in the virtue of your Grandfather Wen». We do not know how he understood the first line. — **B.** Cheng Hüan adheres to his idea that Wen tsu means the ancestral hall and is equal to the ritual Ming t'ang 68 'Bright Hall' (see Gl. 1784 above), and he takes tan = 69 'to exhaust' (common, see Gl. 423): »In k'ao (achieving =) constructing my bright son's (sc. the king's) laws, I will (exhaust =) carry out entirely the virtue of the Wen-tsu (hall)», i. e. the sacrificial system of the Ming-t'ang. — **C.** PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »My (achieving =) constructing the bright son's laws, is tan (exhaustingly =) entirely by (aid of) the virtue of your grandfather Wen». — **D.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »I will perfect the (pattern =) example for you, my bright son, and so (exhaust =) carry out entirely the virtue of your grandfather Wen». — Only a few lines earlier we had hing 70 in precisely the sense of 'model, pattern, example', which confirms D; this also suits the context best.

P'ing lai pi Yin see Gl. 1604.

1789. Nai ming ning 71.

A. Cheng Hüan believes that ning is short for Ning wang 72 'the serene king', which here would mean Wen Wang: »I was charged (by) the serene (king)». — **B.** PK'ung: »I was charged to tranquillize them» (sc. the Yin). — **C.** Su Shī, foll. by

Ts'ai Ch'en and many later comm., read the line together with the following: *nai ming ning yü yi kü ch'ang er yu* 73. Su and followers make up a whole yarn that the king was now back in Hao and sent this gift to Chou Kung to propitiate him; Chou Kung would here recapitulate this, saying: «You have given orders to tranquillize me with two Yu flasks of aromatic black-millet wine, and you have said: this is a pure sacrificial gift, saluting and bowing the head to the ground I make the fine offering». The comm. add that «pure sacrificial gift» means that Chou Kung was honoured with a gift otherwise reserved for the Spirits. For details see Legge. An extraordinary speculation. — D. Wang Kuo-wei, while adopting the punctuation of C, reminds that *ning* 74 simply means 'to favour', as shown by a par. in the bronze inscr. on Yü Tsüe 75: «... in Ch'eng Chou; the king ordered to favour the prince of Teng and to give him cowries» 76 (Kün ku lu kin wen 2:3, 3). In fact, Yu flasks of aromatic wine were a common gift from the king to show favour to a subject (*passim* in bronze inscr., e. g. the famous Ta Yü ting inscr.), and obviously this is the meaning here. But Chou Kung simply recapitulates the happenings when he first was sent to Lo to take up the new site: «(One has sent me to admonish the people of Yin), and order was given to favour me with two Yu flasks of aromatic black-millet wine». There was nothing «Spirit»-like in this: in a bronze inscription on Lü ting 77 (Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 3: 27) «the king presented to Lü three Yu flasks of aromatic black-millet wine». But Chou Kung at once decided to dedicate this precious gift to the Spirits of his father Wen and his brother Wu: «I (then) said: «I make a bright pure sacrifice...» etc.

1790. Huei tu sü wu yu kou tsi tsi 78.

A. PK'ung: «(If you) huei follow (the laws) and tu amply practise (them) sü and establish order, (so that) wu yu there is nobody who kou meets with tsi tsi the employment of maltreating (methods)»; an impossible construction. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en believes that this is the prayer uttered by Chou Kung at the sacrifice to Wen and Wu, and that it refers to the young king: «May he (the king) huei be obedient and tu sü amply keep in order (his principles), may he not meet with himself becoming sick». — C. Kiang Sheng: kou 79 should be 80 'interlace, entangle, complicate'; tsi 81 = 82: «(If you) obedient (to your elders' principles) tu sü amply regulate (your people), (so that) there are no complications and tsi thereby tsi hatred (between them)». D. Sun Sing-yen: «(If you) huei with kindness tu sü amply regulate (your people), and not (in regard to) kou (the people) you meet tsi tsi use a maltreating (government)». — E. Chang Ping-lin: tu 83 stands for 84, which according to Fang-yen means 85 'order, principles', and tsi 81 is a short-form for tsuei 86 'fault' (this latter after Chuang Shu-tsu), the line referring to the sacrifice: «huei according to tu the proper principles sü I have arranged it, wu yu kou I have not met with tsuei tsi fault». Far too much unnecessary text alterations. — F. There can be no doubt that A-C-D are right that this is a continuation of Chou Kung's sermon to the king. We had earlier tu sü nai cheng fu 87 «amply regulate your principal officers» (see Gl. 1768) and our present line is quite analogous. Wu yu kou «there is no coming across that you» = «you have no occasion to». In tsi tsi 88, tsi as usual means

新辟 48 作周恭先 49 作周孚先 50 恭 51 共 52 供 53 周共 54 周孚 55 夏之共多士 56 共職 57.
法 58 孚 59 郭 60 先 61 吳晉爭先 62 作 63 無作神養 64 萬邦作孚 65 考朕昭子刑乃單文祖
德 66 單 67 信 68 明堂 69 盡 70 刑 71 乃命寧 72 寧王 73 乃命寧予以拒鬯二卣 74 寧 75 孟爵
王命寧鄭伯賁貝 76 呂鼎 78 惠篤殺無有遺自疾 79 邁 80 蔑 81 自 82 用 83 篤 84 督 85 理

'self': «Kindly and amply regulate (your people), so as to have no occasion to find fault with yourself; (then) they will for a myriad years be replete with your virtue» etc.

1791. Yin nai yin k'ao 89.

A. PK'ung takes yin as an adverbial phrase = 90 (after Erya) 'long, for ever'; k'ao 71 is common in the sense of ch'eng 92 'to achieve, complete, finish' (see Gl. 160). He interprets: «The Yin then forever will (result in =) become (Chou people)». An absurd idea. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: k'ao 91 = 93 'high old age' (common): «The Yin people then will have a protracted longevity». This is rather nonsensical in the context. — C. Kiang Sheng: «The Yin (people) will forever achieve (order)». — D. Yü Sing-wu: yin 94 is a corruption of hung 95 'great' (the archaic graphs being very similar) and k'ao 91 stands for hiao 96, as often in the bronze inscriptions. Yü refers to the inscr. on the Mao Kung Lü Ting (K'i ku shī 2: 51): yi hung wei hiao 97. This would give here: «The Yin then will grandly show filial piety», which makes sheer nonsense. — E. Another interpr. The background of the whole of our chapter is that the new city Lo is in enemy country, with a pro-Yin population, and that Chou Kung has been sent there to «admonish» and dominate them and bring them into definite allegiance. Now k'ao 91 is synom. with ch'eng 92, and this ch'eng 'to finish, to settle, to make a definite arrangement' is very common in the sense of 'to make peace', see Tso *passim*. This is the meaning here. On the other hand, we have had yin 94 in its ordinary sense of 'to lead on, to induce' in several Shu chapters, e. g. K'ang kao 98: «Then they lead on to wickedness». Our line means: «The Yin (people) then will be induced to (finish, settle =) make peace».

Nai ch'eng sü wan nien see Gl. 1249.

1792. K'i yung kuan chen tsī huai tē 99.

A. PK'ung, adopting the Erya definition huai 100 = 1, says: «May they forever observe our (sons =) descendants and (go to =) give their adherence to their virtue». Huai = kuei was refuted in Gl. 110a. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen for the rest follow A but keep the original meaning of huai: ... and cherish their virtue». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en refers the tsī 'son' to Ch'eng Wang, throughout this chapter addressed as tsī 2 or 3: «May they forever observe you, my son, and cherish your virtue».

1793. Cheng tsi suei 4.

A. PK'ung takes this as one sacrifice: «He by the cheng rite sacrificed to the year». — B. Cheng Hūan divides them: «He cheng made the winter sacrifice, and then in making the sacrifice of the (commencement of the) year, (Wen Wang received etc.)». The Ts'ing scholars elaborately confirm B.

1794. Wang ming tso ts'ê Yi chu ts'ê 5.

A. Cheng Hūan (foll. by PK'ung, Ts'ai Ch'en, Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen): «The king ordered to make a brevet, and Yi recited the brevet...». — B. Sun Yi-jiang foll. by Wang Kuo-wei takes tso ts'ê as a title: «The king ordered the Maker of Brevets, Yi, to recite the brevet». Acc. to Wang Kuo-wei, tso ts'ê was an alternative title for the nei shī 6 «Scribe of the interior». I have already in Gl. 1558 given reasons for not accepting this theory. In bronze inscriptions (BMFEA 8, 1935) therefore I always interpreted tso ts'ê as a finite verb with object, on the analogy of our Shu line here, e. g. the Ta Ting, phr. 8, not: «The prince gave the tso ts'ê (Maker of Brevets) Ta a white horse», but: «The prince made a present and made a brevet for Ta of a white horse», shang and tso ts'ê thus being coördinated phrases. Similarly, in the famous Nie Ling Yi inscr. (Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 4: 49) 9: «He made a gift to Nie (Ling) of aromatic wine... he said...; one made a brevet; and (Nie) Ling extolled» etc. (not:

»the tso ts'ê Ling extolled«). A gift was made solemn and ritual by being accompanied by a written deed of transmission. This interpretation becomes imperative because in the bronze inscriptions it is so common that, in connection with a gift from the king or a prince, the phrase tso ts'ê crops up — why should the receivers of gifts so frequently be men in the office of tso ts'ê »Maker of Brevets«? This is not very plausible: the phrase tso ts'ê appears in connection with royal gifts, just because for these gifts there were tso ts'ê made brevets. (M. Loehr, in *Sinologische Arbeiten* 2, 1944, is very apodictic on this point: »Bei Karlgren ist der Ausdruck irrig übersetzt bei »to make a brevet for«; Loehr refers to Wang Kuo-wei. But an interpr. is not necessarily »irrig« because it — deliberately — deviates from that of Wang Kuo-wei). We have, moreover, a clear and unambiguous Shu case where tso ts'ê cannot be the proposed title: Ku ming: ting mao ming tso ts'ê tu 10. »On the day ting-mao, order was given to make a document about the measures (prescribed by the dead king)«. And there is likewise a well-known bronze inscription which shows up the fallacy of the »title« interpr. It is the Wu yi inscr. 11 (K'ia chai 13:8) which has: Tsai Fei yu tso ts'ê Wu ju men... wang hu shī Yüe ts'ê ming Wu 12. Acc. to Wang's ideas, this should be translated: »The intendant Fei assisted; the tso-ts'ê (Maker of Brevets) Wu entered the gate... The king ordered the scribe Yüe to brevet the order to Wu« (the following lines recite to gifts bestowed upon Wu). But it is quite clear that the word ts'ê refers to the same thing in both lines (it would be a curious coincidence indeed if Mr. Wu in the same passage figured as a »maker of brevets« and as the receiver of a brevet) and we must understand the line thus: »The intendant Fei assisted; tso ts'ê one made a brevet; Wu entered the gate... The king ordered the scribe Yüe to brevet the order to Wu«. It might be argued that after all the words tso ts'ê Wu 13 in the inscr. above must mean »the Maker of Brevets Wu«, since another inscr. (Shī Hu Kuei 14, K'ia chai 11:7) speaks of a nei shī Wu 15 »Scribe of the Interior Wu«, who should reasonably be the same man, and this would confirm Wang's identification of tso ts'ê = nei shī. But the two inscriptions do not (in spite of Kuo Mo-jo who combines them) belong together. The scripts differ too badly, having divergent forms for such common words as ko 16, hiang 17, hu 18, sī 19, si 20, kan 21, k'i 22. Wu 23 is a common name in the inscription. Finally we compare two analogous inscriptions: Tsou Kuei: Wang hu tso ts'ê; Yin [ts'ê ming] Tsou 24 »the king (called =) commanded to make a brevet; and Yin [breveted the order to] Tsou«; Li Ting: Wang hu tso ming; nei shī ts'ê ming Li 25 »the king (called =) commanded to make an order; and the Scribe of the Interior breveted the order to Li«. It is obvious that tso ts'ê 26 in 24, and tso ming 27 in 25 are exact parallels, and if Wang Kuo-wei were right we should have one more title: Tso-ming, which is untenable.

Wei kao Chou kung k'i kou see Gl. 1777.

Wang pin sha yin hien ko see Gl. 1341.

鼻 87 篤敍乃正父 88 自疾 89 殷乃引考 90 長 91 考 92 成 93 壽 94 引 95 弘 96 孝 97 亦弘唯孝
 88 時乃引惡 98 其永觀朕子懷德 99 懷 100 歸 2. 子 3. 孺子 4. 烝祭歲 5. 王命作冊逯說冊
 6. 內史 7. 大鼎 8. 公商作冊大白馬 9. 錫父也...曰...作冊令揚 10. 丁卯命作冊度 11. 吳
 壽 12. 宰肱右作冊吳入門...王乎史戌冊命吳 13. 作冊吳 14. 師虎殷 15. 內史吳 16. 格 17. 鄉
 平 18. 嗣 20. 錫 21. 敢 22. 其 23. 吳 24. 王乎作冊尹冊命走 25. 王乎作命內史冊命利 26. 作冊 27.

To shi.

1795. Kao Shang wang shi 28.

A. PK'ung: »He made an announcement to the officers of the Shang king». — B. Yü Yüe: wang shi 29 is a binome »royal officers», just as in the common expression wang ch'en 30 (Yi), wang jen 31 (Ch'un ts'iu), wang kuan 32 (Tso). Cf. Yi Chou shu: Shi fu 33 »they presented Yin's captured royal officers, one hundred men». This par. is decisive; thus: »He made an announcement to the royal officers of Shang».

Fu tiao min t'ien see Gl. 429 and 571.

1796. Wo yu Chou yu ming 34.

A. PK'ung explains: »We Chou (have received Heaven's) helping mandate», or, more closely with Ts'ai Ch'en: »We Chou have (received) the favouring decree». In both cases the salient verb 'receive' has been supplied. — B. Kiang Sheng: »We Chou have assisted (Heaven's) decree».

1797. Chung yü ti 35.

This follows upon: 36 »We effected the royal punishment, and rightly disposed the mandate of Yin» (for the latter see Gl. 670 and 1348 above).

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 37 »We achieved Chou (in being) in the sovereign's (position)». Quite impossible. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: 38 »We achieved God's (business)». This supposes a violent ellipsis. — C. Wang Sien-k'ien: »We made an end to the emperor» (i. e. the last Yin king). — D. Yü Sing-wu would divide the lines quite differently: Chi wang fa ch'i, Yin ming chung yü ti »We effected the royal punishment and ch'i warning; Yin's mandate was terminated by God». This dividing is not acceptable, because of a par. Shu text: Kao Yao mo: ch'i t'ien chi ming 37. But as to the meaning of the last part, Yü is obviously right: »(we rightly disposed of the mandate of Yin), it was terminated by God». For yü 40 in this function, as a preposition expressing agent, cf. P'an Keng 41 »I go to welcome and preserve you endowment (by =) from Heaven»; Kin t'eng 42 »I, the little child, have anew (been charged by the 3 kings =) obtained an appointment from the 3 kings». As Yü points out, our phr. chung yü ti 35 »it (the mandate) was terminated by God» expresses the same as Shao kao 43 »Heaven has removed and made an end to the great state Yin's mandate».

1798. Si er to shi 44.

A. PK'ung renders si by ku 'therefore' and curiously interprets: »Therefore your numerous officers (submit to me)», leaving half the clause to be supplied. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Now then, you many officers».

1799. Fei wo siao kuo kan yi Yin ming 45.

A. This is PK'ung's text version, and he says that 46 **djak* (*jak*) yi = 47 'to catch, to take', the word fundamentally meaning 'to shoot with arrow with string attached'. Thus: »It is not that our small state dared to (shoot =) catch Yin's mandate». — B. Ma Jung's version had yi Yin ming 48, this 49 **gak* / *jak* / yi 'wing' defined by Ma as likewise meaning 47 'to take', and by Cheng Hün as = 50 'to run after' (to run after = pursue). »It is not that our small state dared to (run after =) try to catch Yin's mandate». For neither of these meanings of 49 is there any supporting text par. Sun Sing-yen therefore explains yi 'wing' by 'spread the wings over' = 'to cover, possess': »It is not that our small state dared to (cover =) possess the mandate of Yin». But this is unreasonable; a yi Yin kuo »to cover Yin's state» might be possible, but certainly not a »to cover Yin's mandate». — C. Chang Ping-lin believes that 49 (**gak*) is loan char. for 51 **kek* / *kek* / *ko*: »... dared to change Yin's mandate». — D. Yü Sing-wu thinks that the graph 49 is a corruption of a char. occurring in inscriptions: 52, which has tentatively been identified with yu 53 'friend'; and this would here be a loan

char. for y u 54 'to have': »... dared to have Yin's mandate». Very unconvincing. — E. Another interpr. It is tempting to accept PK'ung's text version with y i 46, which could simply be a short form for t a i 55 (without radical, Chou fashion): »... dared to succeed to Yin's mandate». But PK'ung after all as a rule followed the Ku-wen version, and we happen to know that the three greatest champions of the Ku-wen, Ma Jung, Cheng Hsian and Wang Su all read 48. It is therefore evident that PK'ung himself concluded from Ma's definition(= 47) that y i 49 was a loan char. for y i 46 ('to shoot' = to catch) and altered the text accordingly. Thus 49 is certainly anterior to 46. But probably this y i 49 is a corruption of the very similar char. 56 'to hope for, aspire to' (very common word): »It was not that our small state dared to aspire to Yin's mandate», which agrees well with the following: »It was that Heaven did not give it (to Yin)».

1800. Wei t'ien pu pi yün wang ku luan pi wo 57.

A. PK'ung takes luan 58 as = 59 (then properly read s i 61, as often): »Heaven does not p i give favour to and y ün trust (such who) wang have no ku luan (s i) solid rule and so he helped us». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Heaven did not give favour to (the Yin), y ün truly wang ku it does not consolidate luan the disorderly ones, and so it helped us». — C. Kiang Sheng: Sie Ki-süan 62 (Sung time) says the Ku-wen version read h u 63 (= 64) instead of k u 65. From PK'ung's paraphrase it is clear that he took this h u 64 as loan char. for k u 65 and hence Wei Pao changed h u into k u. The former, however, is no loan char. but is correct and has its ordinary meaning, as proved by two passages in Tso (Hi 15, Süan 12) containing the phr. w u h u luan 66 »do not (rely on =) take advantage of the disorder», in both cases a quotation from the scribe Yi 67 (= 68 of the Lo kao above), Chou Kung's contemporary. This is obviously an allusion to our Shu phr. here. But Kiang uses this par. only to confirm the word h u 64. For the rest he preserves wang 69 and takes this as = 'to cheat' (as in Lun: Yung ye). Thus: »Heaven does not give favour to and trust wang such who cheat and h u luan take advantage of disorder, and so it helped us». — D. Sun Sing-yen reverts to the A reading. He quotes Erya (Shi ku) y ün 70 = 71 'clever-tongued' (for which there is no text support whatever): »Heaven does not give favour to y ün the clever-tongued, wang the cheating, ku the obdurate and luan the deluded». This suits the context very poorly. — E. Chuang Shu-tsu insists that we should punctuate after y ün: Wei t'ien pu pi yün, just as we in To fang have: wei t'ien pu pi ch'un 72. »Heaven's not giving favour to (Hia) was (great =) definite» (ch'un 73 = 74, as usual; Sun Sing-yen: ch'un 73 = 75 = 76 »Heaven did not give a fine [reward]» is less acceptable). Thus here: »Heaven's not giving favour to (the Yin) was y ün (sincere =) definite». — F. Sun Yi-jang would punctuate thus: Wei t'ien pu pi yün wang ku, luan pi wo and he says luan 58 is equal to shuai 77 and is a particle without meaning:

作命 28 告商王士 29 王士 30 王臣 31 王人 32 王官 33 薦殷俘王士百人 34 我有周佑命 35
終于帝 36 致王罰勅殷命 37 終周于帝王 38 終上帝之事 39 勅天之命 40 于 41 予迓續乃
命于天 42 于小子新命于三王 43 天既超終大邦殷之命 44 肆爾多士 45 非我小國敢弋
殷命 46 弋 47 取 48 翼殷命 49 翼 50 驅 51 革 52 誓 53 友 54 有 55 代 56 冀 57 惟天不畀允罔罔
亂弼我 58 亂 59 治 60 嗣 61 司 62 薛季宣 63 志 64 怙 65 固 66 無怙怙亂 67 史佚 68 逸 69 罔 70
允 71 佞 72 惟天不畀純 73 純 74 大 75 配 76 好 77 率 78 弼我 79 弼我 80 彊 81 嗣 82 亡 83 故 84

»Heaven did not give favour to (Yin), (its mandate) yün truly wang ku was not (solid =) irrevocable: it has helped us». An impossible construction. Moreover luan is no particle, see Gl. 1696. — G. Chang Ping-lin: pi wo 78 is a corruption of 79, the first char. (of uncertain pronunciation) meaning 80: »It (Heaven) has forced us». — H. Yü Sing-wu: luan 58 is a corruption of 60 (cf. A above), but this is equal to 81 'to succeed, subsequently'; wang 69 stands for wang 82 and ku 65 for 83. The line should be divided thus: Wei t'ien pu pi, yün wang, ku si pi wo: »Heaven did not give favour (to Yin); truly it perished; therefore subsequently it (sc. Heaven) helped us». Too many arbitrary text alterations. — I. Another interpr. In regard to the first half, E is certainly right, as proved by the To fang par. For wang hu luan we should base ourselves on the oldest interpr. available, that of the Tso chuan, where the phrase wu hu luan, obviously alluding to our Shu chapter, means »not to (rely on =) take advantage of the disorder». The line then becomes very simple and logical in the context: »Heaven's not giving favour (to Yin) was (sincere =) definite; without our (relying on =) taking advantage of the disorder (of Yin), it helped us» (followed by: »how should we have dared to seek the throne»).

1801. Wei ti pu pi, wei wo hia min ping wei, wei t'ien ming wei 84.

A. PK'ung: wei 85 in falling tone: »God did not give favour (to Yin); our lower people ping held (a mind that) wei was for (us Chou), that was (due to) Heaven's bright virtue's fearfulness». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: wei 85 in even tone: »God's not giving favour (to Yin) is (identical with) our lower people's steadfast doings, and (that is equal to) Heaven's bright overawing». Very scholastic. — C. Sun Sing-yen: wei 86 is equal to 87, as often, and the line should be compared with Kao Yao mo 88 (see Gl. 1310): »Heaven's (enlightenment, discernment =) and (fearsomeness =) severity works through our people's discernment and severity». Thus: »God did not give favour (to Yin); what our lower people held on to and did, that was (the expression of) Heaven's discernment and severity».

1802. Shang ti yin yi, yu Hia pu shi yi 89.

A. PK'ung explains (after Erya) yin 90 by ch'ang 91 (cf. Gl. 1791): »God on High (wants the people) yin forever yi to have ease; the lord of Hia (= Kie) did not shi (go to =) pursue the ease (sc. of the people)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en only modifies this by taking yin 90 as = 'to lead on': »God on High leads on to ease» etc. — C. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Yü tseng) has: »Shun 92 was still and could 93 be without actions, therefore the canon says: Shang ti yin yi, that refers to Shun; Shun took over the peacefulness and continued the orderliness (in the government), he gave charges to the wise and employed the able, he respected himself and wu wei 94 had no activity; thus the realm became well-governed». This has been understood in two ways. — a. Kiang Sheng, while rejecting the idea that shang ti refers to Shun, accepts the rest, and reads the tsê of the following line together with this: 95. He believes that Wang Ch'ung took yin yi 96 to refer to neglected wise men, and that he therefore says »he gave charges to the wise» etc. Thus: »God on High yin brings forward yi unemployed (wise men): the lord of Hia pu shi did not apply the tsê rule for yi the unemployed (wise men)». Very unnatural. — β. Sun Sing-yen (likewise including the following tsê) has realized that Wang Ch'ung referred the phrase yin yi to the current idea of wu wei non-activity: »God on High yin (protractedly =) forever is yi (leisurely =) non-active; the lord of Hia pu shi did not understand yi tsê the rule of (leisureliness =) non-activity». Though this was probably Wang Ch'ung's idea (the oldest interpr. available), it is very little convincing. — D. Wu Ch'eng: »God on High yin 90 leads away (i. e. eliminates) the yi idly-sportive; the lords of Hia (Yü and his followers) did not shi pursue idle sports». — E. Yü Yü: yin 90

means 'to pull in' in the sense of 97 'to restrain', and *shī* 98 means ('to make suitable' =) 'to moderate', as in Lü: Chung ki 99 'the sage always first moderates his desires' (Kao Yu: *shī* = 100). Thus: 'God on High (pulls in =) restrains the idly-sportive; the lord of Hia did not moderate his idle sports'. The Lü par. is certainly very valuable and a strong corroboration for this expl. of *shī* yi. But for *yin* 90 in the sense of 'to restrain' Yü has not been able to adduce any early par., and in fact *yin* means quite the contrary: 'to lead on, to lead forward, encourage to', *inter alia* in Shu: K'ang kao 1 'Then they lead on to wickedness'. We should therefore modify interpr. E thus: 'God on High would guide the idly-sportive, but the lord of Hia (i. e. Kie) did not moderate his idle sports'. Cf. Meng: Kao tsī, hia 2 'He makes it his task to guide his prince by right principles'. 1803. Tsê wei ti kiang ko hiang yü shī Hia 3.

A. PK'ung takes kiang ko 4 as a binome = 5 'to send down and let come'; hiang 6 'to face' = 'to turn towards': 'Then God sent down and let come (warnings), (but) he (still) turned his regard towards that Hia' (did not reject him). Ts'ai Ch'en on the other hand says hiang means 7 'the direction of one's thought': 'Then God sent down and let come (warnings), (showing his) mind's direction (i. e. indicating his mind) to that Hia'. In an analogous but shorter line in To fang: wei ti kiang ko yü Hia 8, both interpret: 'God sent down and let come (warnings) to the Hia'. In all these explanations it is a fatal weakness that a salient word 'warnings' has to be supplied.

— B. Ma Jung punctuated after yü shī, carrying Hia to the next line, and Kiang and Sun follow this, but in different ways: — *α*. Kiang Sheng: kiang ko 4 (since ko 9 and kia 10 are synonymous and often interchangeable in the earliest texts, Kiang replaces ko 9 by 10; Erya defines both 9 and 10 as = 11) is = sheng kiang 12 (with an inversion of the word order). Hiang 6 should be 13 in the sense of 'to resound widely, to spread far as a far-carrying sound'. Thus: 'God advanced and sent down far-reaching (warnings) yü shī to him'. An impossible construction. — *β*. Sun Sing-yen, like Kiang, takes ko 9 = 11 'to ascend' (for this meaning cf. Gl. 1489 and 1727), but kiang ko as an antithetical phr., equal to the chī kiang 14 which occurs *passim* in the Odes. He takes them both to mean 'ascension and descension' in the sense of promotion and degradation; further hiang 6 = 15. Thus: 'God with (prospects of) degradation or promotion hiang yü shī approached him' (i. e. gave him warnings). Almost as bad as *α*. In both *α* and *β* the Ma Jung punctuation is a fatal error, since the To fang par. 8 clearly shows that Hia should belong to our line here. — C. Another interpr. Sun Sing-yen is quite right in maintaining that our kiang ko is analogous to the chī kiang 14 of the Odes. But, just as that phrase means 'to ascend and descend', said of Spirits coming to partake of the sacrifices (see in detail Gl. 1109), so our kiang ko in the Shu means 'to descend and ascend'. Most clearly we have this in Shu: Lü hing: 'The charge was given to Ch'ung and Li to break the communications between earth and heaven, wang yu kiang ko 16 so that there was no descending or ascending'; for a detailed analysis of this passage see BMFEA 18, 1946, p. 234—236. Here our kiang ko has the same meaning: in the shorter To fang line 8 we obtain: 'God descended and ascended (i. e. visited the temple to enjoy the sacrifices) with (auprès

惟帝不畀惟我下民衆為惟天明畏 55 為 56 畏 57 威 58 天明威(畏)自我民明威 59 上帝引
遜有夏不適 60 引 61 長 62 安 63 無事 64 無為 65 有夏不適遜則 66 引 67 遜 68 收引 69 適 70
聖人必先適欲 71 節 72 時乃引惡 73 務引 74 其君以當道 75 則惟帝降格嚮于時夏 76 降格
5 下至 6 嚮 7 適嚮 8 惟帝降格于夏 9 格 10 假 11 升 12 升 降 13 嚮 14 降 15 向 16 固有

de) the Hia (king). And our longer line in To shī here: »Then God descended and ascended (i. e. visited the temple to enjoy the sacrifices) and hiang yü approached shī Hia that Hia king».

1804. Ta yin yi yu ts'ī 17.

A. PK'ung: »He was greatly licentious and dissolute and had (words about him =) a (bad) fame». This is quite analogous to Lo kao 18 »You will forever have (words about you =) praise» (see Gl. 1762), though here in an opposite sense. We could translate yu ts'ī by »notorious» in both places, which in the same way would give both kinds of meaning. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »He was greatly licentious and dissolute and had excuses». — C. Ma Jung inst. of the 19(=20) **djēt* / *jēt* / yi of the PK'ung version had 21 *siet* / *siet* / sie 'small, trifling'. Ma, however, still defines it as = 22 'to go to excess', i. e. as a loan char. for 19 **djēt*. Chuang Shu-tsu explains this better thus: 21 is a variant for 23 **djēt* / *jēt* / yi, which is here a loan char. for the homophonous 19. — D. Kiang Sheng, however, would preserve Ma's sie 21 with a different meaning than that proposed by Ma himself. Shuowen defines 21 as = 'restless, fussing', and this would be the sense here. Further ts'ī should mean 'accusation, indictment', as in Shu: Lü hing 24 »Widowers and widows had indictments against Miao», and later in our chapter here wang fei yu ts'ī yü fa 25 »there were none that had not indictments (against them) for punishment». Thus our line: »He was greatly licentious and restless and had indictments (against him)». (A proposal by Yü Sing-wu that ts'ī (**dziæg*) is loan char. for a **djāk* 'pleased' is phonetically unacceptable). — The phrase yin yi 26 'licentious and dissolute' is a standing binome. We had it in Tsiu kao 27 »Great was his license and dissoluteness in irregular (practices)», and only a few lines later in our present chapter we find: tan yin küe yi 28 (Si-ma Ts'ien cites with the variant 20) »He was greatly licentious in his dissoluteness» (Ma Jung paraphrases: 29, this yi 30 **djēt* / *jēt* / yi 'let loose, unbridled, idly-sportive' being etym. the same word). The same binome 26 recurs e. g. in Tso: Yin 3, Li: Yüe ki etc. It is quite obvious that yin yi (whether yi is wr. 19 or 20 or 30 or 21 = 23 is immaterial) 'licentious and dissolute' is the proper reading here and that Ma's 21 should not be read sie and mean something else. As to yu ts'ī 31, there are unambiguous Shu ex. of both meanings: »to have fame, to be notorious» and »to have indictments (against one)», see above. In the latter sense, however, it is really a juridical technical word, and it is little plausible that the king, the Son of Heaven, had legal indictments made against him. The former parallel therefore seems more plausible here. — We should compare:

Shu: To fang: Nai wei er pi yier to fang ta yin t'u t'ien chi ming sie (yi) yu ts'ī 32.

A. PK'ung punctuates after yin, and defines sie 21 by tsin 33 'exhaustively'; probably he meant sie 'in all small details, in everything'. For ts'ī 31 he deviates from his idea in To shī above, and (like Ts'ai there) takes it to mean 'excuse': »Your sovereign, by aid of ta yin the greatly licentious ones of your numerous regions aspired to Heaven's mandate, sie in everything yu ts'ī he had excuses». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after fang: »Your sovereign, by aid of your many states, ta yin was greatly licentious and aspired to Heaven's mandate, sie yu ts'ī and had petty excuses». — C. Kiang Sheng: »Your sovereign, by aid of your many states, yin t'u excessively aspired to Heaven's mandate, sie he was restless and yu ts'ī had indictments (against him)» (as D in To shī above). — D. Sun Sing-yen: sie 21 means 'small, fragments, many small items': »... sie yu ts'ī in many items he has indictments (against him)». — E. Chuang Shu-tsu: the text has evidently been corrupted through a displacement of the two char. ta yin. As clearly proved by the To shī par. above it should run: yier to fang t'u t'ien chi ming, ta yin sie (yi)

y u t s ' i 35. This emendation is eminently plausible. We shall show, however, in Gl. 1905, that t ' u, with Yü Sing-wu, is a corruption of pi 'to despise' and thus obtain: »Your sovereign, having your numerous regions he despised Heaven's command; he was greatly licentious and dissolute and (had words about him) had a (bad) fame».

Shu: To fang: Er nai sie po t ' ien ming 36.

A. PK'ung as above: sie 21 = 33: »You (in all small details =) in everything reject Heaven's decrees». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »You (consider small =) despise and reject Heaven's decrees». — C. Kiang Sheng: »You sie restlessly (fussily) reject...». — D. Sun Sing-yen: Fang yen (Middle Han colloquial) has an entry: sie = 32 'craftly, sly': »You slyly reject Heaven's decrees». Of sie in this sense there are no text ex. — E. Liu Feng-lu, following Chuang Shu-tsu above: sie 21 = yi 30: »You (dissolutely =) recklessly reject the command of Heaven».

1805. K'ue wei fei yü an ming 38.

A. PK'ung and later comm. take Heaven as subject: »It rejected his great mandate»; or, with Kiang Sheng: »his original mandate», i. e. Heaven deprived him of the mandate. — B. Another interpr. In the bronze inscriptions it is a common phrase uttered by the king or prince to the subject rewarded: 39 »Do not (reject =) neglect my charge». (e. g. Ta Yü Ting in K'ia chai tsi ku lu 4: 12, Shī Hu Kuei, ibid. 11: 7 etc.). On this analogy, which should be decisive, our line means: »When he (rejected =) neglected its great charge» (it sent down and applied punishment).

1806. Wang pu ming tê sū sī 40.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »There were none who did not make bright their virtue and carefully attend to the sacrifices». — B. Si-ma Ts'ien (Lu shī kia) reads, as a direct quotation of To shī: 41. Chavannes translates sh u ai sī »diriger les sacrifices» (sh u ai = 'to lead'), but that is certainly not the meaning; Sun Sing-yen says sh u ai here means sū n 42 'to follow', and this must be right, since it refers to a fixed term. In Ch'un ts'iu: Ting 8 we find ts'ung sī sien kung 43, and both Tso and Kung-yang explain this by shun sī 44 »Following the order, we sacrificed to the former princes». Ts'ung, shun and sh u ai are synonymous, and Si-ma's version therefore means: »There were none who did not make bright their virtue and follow (the order of) the sacrifices». It would seem most correct to follow Si-ma, since he directly quotes the Shu (»To shī says») and he is many centuries earlier than PK'ung. But he often treats his Shu text very high-handedly, replacing difficult words by others. It is quite possible that his text after all had 45 *süwət / süwət / sū and that he took it to be a loan char. for 46 *süwət / süwət / sh u ai (in this influenced by his knowledge of the phr. ts'ung sī 47 and shun sī 44 above) and altered his text accordingly. For the reading sū sī there is a good par. in the phr. sū shê tsi 48 »carefully attend to (be solicitous about) the altars of the Soil and the Grain» (Tso: Siang 16, etc.). And, still more important, the bronze inscription of the Chu Kung Hua bell: yi sū k' i tsi sī 49 (Kün ku lu kin wen 3/2: 6) »carefully to attend to his sacrifices». This latter is quite decisive. — We should compare:

降格 17 大淫洗有辭 18 汝永有辭 19 洗 20 佚 21 屑(屑) 22 過 23 倘 24 鯨窮有辭于苗 25 罔非
有辭于罰 26 淫洗 27 誕惟厥縱淫洗于非彝 28 誕淫厥洗 29 大淫樂其逸 30 逸 31 有辭 32 乃
惟爾辟以爾多方大淫圖天之命屑有辭 33 盡 34 辭 35 以爾多方圖天之命大淫屑(係洗)
有辭 36 爾乃屑播天命 37 猶 38 厥惟度元命 39 勿廢朕命 40 罔不明德恤祀 41 無不率祀
明德 42 循 43 從祀先公 44 順祀 45 恤 46 率 47 從祀 48 恤社稷 49 以卹其祭祀 50 恤宅宗 51

Shu: Ku ming: Sū tsê tsung 50 (for 51 var. 52, as often).

A. PK'ung: »sū in the grief tsê to occupy the position of tsung principal» (Couvreur: »ut lugens maneret familiae caput»). But sū means 43 in the sense of 'to be anxious about', not 'to grieve, grief'. Hence it is equally bad when Liu Feng-lu would take sū tsê together = »the mourning dwelling». — B. Another interpr.: »Carefully to attend to those who sojourn in the clan temple» (i. e. the Spirits).

1807. Yin wang yi wang kan shī ti 54.

A. PK'ung: »Of the Yin kings also none dared to lose God's (principles)». — B. Si-ma Ts'ien (Lu shī kia) punctuates after shī, carrying ti to the following line; Chuang Shu-tsu seizes upon this and takes shī 55 as short-form for yi 56: »Of the Yin kings also there were none who dared be licentious». — C. Yü Sing-wu: our words shī ti 57 here are confirmed as belonging together by their balancing the earlier yung ti 58 »(to use =) to care about God». Thus: »Of the Yin kings also none dared (lose =) neglect God».

1808. Wang pu p'ei t'ien k'i tsê 59.

For p'ei t'ien 'to be a counterpart to Heaven' see Gl. 825.

A. PK'ung: »There were none who were not counterparts to Heaven and (spread out) their benefit». The salient verb 'to spread' has then to be supplied. But k'i is then abnormal. Kiang Sheng supplies a missing verb in another way: »... were not counterparts of Heaven and (enjoyed) the benefit»; (Sun Sing-yen: »enjoyed to the end the benefit»). All these interpr. are grammatically unsatisfactory. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »There were none who were not counterparts to Heaven in their benefiting (the people)». — C. Yü Sing-wu would carry k'i tsê to the following line, and take tsê 60 as standing for 61, which in Shuowen is defined as = 62 'end, finish', and the line k'i (tsê =) yi tsai kin hou ts'i wang 63 would mean »at the end, their last successor in our time». But yi 61 means 'to finish' only in the sense of 'to become fed up with, tired of', hence 'to cease' (cf. Gl. 1704), which is not applicable here. Yü cites another interpr., reading as one line only the four words k'i tsê tsai kin 64 »their benefit (still) exists today». But this is vetoed by a par. in Tsiu kao, where a passage begins with exactly the same line as here: tsai kin hou si wang 65. It is therefore hardly permissible to carry the k'i tsê to this latter line. — B seems the least objectionable interpr.

Tan wang hien yü t'ien — wang ku yü t'ien hien min chī see Gl. 1676. Tan yin küe yi see Gl. 1804.

1809. Wang fei yu ts'i yü fa 66.

A. PK'ung: There were none who had not (bad) words about the punishment (from Heaven)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »There were none as to whom there were no (words, arguments =) reasons for punishment». — C. Kiang Sheng: »There were none who had not indictments (against them) for punishments». For confirmation see Gl. 1804 above.

1810. Yu ming yue ko Yin 67.

A. PK'ung: »There was the (heavenly) charge, saying: (injure =) destroy Yin». Cf. T'ang shī 68 »He injures the city of Hia». — B. Sun Sing-yen: k o 69 = 70 'to take': »... take Yin». He refers to Ts'ê: Ts'i ts'ê 2, phr. 71, on which Kao Yu says k o 69 = ts'ü 70 »The king can take much land». But k o here really means 'to cut' in the sense of 'to cut slices (of land)', and this is not applicable in our Shu line: Wu Wang was not to cut a slice of Yin, but to destroy it. — C. Yü Sing-wu would consider k o 69 as a corruption of a ch'uang 72, and this latter not in the sense of 'to injure' but 'to correct'. Very speculative. — No reason to abandon A.

1811. Wei wo shī pu er shī, wei er wang kia wo shī 73.

A. PK'ung: shī 75 = 76 'to go': «Our affairs (sc. in the realm) do not go in two directions (i. e. they are all in Chou's hands, none in Yin's); your royal house has (gone to =) come to us (as subjects)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «In our affair (sc. of conquering Yin) we (do not go in two directions =) are single-minded (i. e. have but one purpose); your royal house should come to us». — C. Kiang Sheng: shī 75 stands for ti 77 (i. e. the original graph was 78 without radical, Chou fashion, and has wrongly been enlarged into 75 inst. of 77): «In our actions we are not er double-minded (i. e. false) or ti inimical, it is your royal house that is inimical towards us». A desperate attempt. — The ancient interpr. (A) is the most plausible.

1812. Yü yin nien t'ien tsi yü Yin ta li si pu cheng 79.

A. PK'ung punctuates after t'ien: «I also think of Heaven (sc. I do not act on my own); that I tsi acted upon Yin's great crimes, (was because the king) did not correct (himself)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «I also think of Heaven's approaching Yin with great calamities, (it shows that) they were not straight». — C. Kiang Sheng: «I think of Heaven's approaching Yin and greatly punishing it; si therefore pu cheng I do not correct you (officers, who were not responsible)». — D. K'ung Kuang-sen proposes two alternative interpr.: Si 80 can mean 'great': «I also think of how Heaven acted upon Yin's great crimes and si great pu cheng iniquities». Or it means 'to attack', as in Ode 236 (this meaning of si refuted in our Gl. 787): «I think of how Heaven acted upon Yin's great crimes and si attacked pu cheng the iniquitous ones». — E. Sun Yi-jang (who believes that the preceding 81 means «I do not [move, touch =] attack you», a not very happy interpr.), says that cheng 82 is short for 83: «I also think of how Heaven has (already) tsi yü Yin applied to Yin ta li a great (guilt =) punishment, therefore I do not punishingly attack you (further)». In bronze inscriptions 82 sometimes (though rarely) serves for 83 (e. g. Yü Kuei, in Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 4: 47), and, for instance, in Li: Yen yi 84 «The minister of war did not go on expeditions (with them)», on which Cheng Hün: 82 = 85 (i. e. = 83).

Wang yüe yu kao er to shī see Gl. 1585.

1813. Yü wei shī k'i ts'ien kü si er 86.

A. PK'ung: «I because of that have transferred and settled you in the west». Kü-si er = «to west-settle you». — B. Kiang Sheng evidently finds the grammatical construction with kü-si as a transitive verb with er as object too unnatural, for he explains si 87 as a verb = 88 'to rest', here transitive 'to bring to rest', the graph 87 being probably the primary form for si 89 'to roost', and we should then have to take the line to mean: kü si er 90 'to settle you and let you roost'. Very far-fetched.

1814. Fei wo yi jen feng tê pu k'ang ning 91, followed by 92.

A. PK'ung: «It is not that I, the One man, have a virtue (such that) I (cannot) make (you) tranquil, (that was the command of Heaven)». — B. Kiang Sheng: «It is not that the (virtue =) character I, the One man, (carry =) have is unruly».

宅 22 度 23 憂 24 殷王亦罔敢失帝 25 失 26 洪 27 失帝 28 庸帝 29 罔下配天其澤 30 澤 31 敷
 32 終 33 其敷在今後嗣王 34 其澤在今 35 在今後嗣王 36 罔非有辭于罰 37 有命曰割殷
 38 割 39 邑 40 割 41 取 42 王可以多割地 43 創 44 惟我事不貳適惟爾王家我適 45 適 46 之
 47 敵 48 商 49 予亦念天即于殷大戾肆不正 50 肆 51 我不爾勳 52 正 53 征 54 司馬弗正 55
 役 56 予惟時其遷居西爾 57 西 58 息 59 柝 60 居西爾 61 非我一人幸德不康寧 62 時惟天

1815. Shī wei t'ien ming, wu wei 93.

A. This is PK'ung's version: 'That was the command of Heaven, do not (transgress =) disobey it'. — B. The stone classics of 175 A. D. read 94. This makes no sense (Chuang Shu-tsu would compare it with Shao kao 95 'his position will be [at the head of the virtue =] that of a leader in virtue', a meaning that is hardly applicable here), and Wang Ming-sheng explains it thus: for wu 96 there was the variant 97 and the inscriber misread this as yü an 98 and dropped the wei 99. Tuan Yü-ts'ai objects that the stone classics of 175 never employed this graph 97, but that is wrong, for we have it quite often in the Yi king fragments (see the compilation 100). In all probability Wang is right. — C. Kiang Sheng takes wu wei 1 to mean: 'Do not go away from (sc. the new city)', which is certainly no improvement. The expression wei ming 2 'to transgress, disobey a command' is exceedingly common, e. g. Ode 304, phr. 3 'God's commands were never disobeyed'. Still less recommendable is Legge's: 'Do not resist me'.

1816. Chen pu kan yu hou 4.

A. PK'ung: 'I shall not dare to have later (punishments for you)', adding a 5 that is not in the text. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: 'I shall not dare to have a later (command for you)', adding a ming 6. — C. Lin Ch'i-k'i and Lü Tsu-k'ien: 'I dared not (have a delay =) be dilatory'. Cf. Shao kao 7 'The king should not dare to be dilatory'. — D. Chuang Shu-tsu says hou means the same as wu wei 'do not disobey'. Probably he means 'to place after' = 'to neglect': 'I dared not (have any neglecting =) neglect it'. Cf. Meng: Liang Huei wang, shang 8 'If righteousness be put last and profit be put first'. This is quite plausible in itself, but C is better supported by a Shu par.

1817. Hia ti kien tsai wang t'ing 9.

A. PK'ung: 10 'to walk in a road' is here noun = 11 = 'those who walk in the (proper) road', and kien 12 = 'great' (common), thus: 'Those of the Hia who walked in the proper road, grandly were in the (Yin) king's court'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: 'The Hia were ti (advanced =) promoted and kien selected and were in the (Yin) king's court'.

1818. Yü t'ien yi Shang 13.

A. This is the traditional version: 'in the heavenly city Shang'. — B. Wang Kuo-wei: t'ien 14 is a mistake for ta 15: 'the great city Shang'. In the oracle bone inscriptions the phr. ta yi Shang 16 is common, and the archaic graphs for ta and t'ien are nearly identical. (In the same way the king Ta Yi [T'ai Yi] is wrongly called T'ien Yi by Si-ma Ts'ien). Yü Sing-wu objects to this correction that on oracle bones ta and t'ien are both used in this phrase (t'ien yi Shang in Hayashi: Kuei Kia shou ku wen ts'i 1: 27), and likewise the ta shi (t'ai shi) 17, so common in bronze inscriptions, occurs in the Ta Feng Kuei inscr. (K'ia chai tsi ku lu 11: 15) as t'ien shi 18. (There the char. is written 19, and that this is t'ien, not ta, is proved on the one hand by the phr. 20 = 21 immediately after; and on the other hand by the phr. 22 = 23 later in the inscription). Yü's objection is well-founded; we have no reason to introduce arbitrary and unnecessary text 'corrections'.

1819. Yü wei shuai si king er 24.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 5 'I follow Yin's old actions and pity you'. Erya says si 26 = 27 'thus, therefore, then' (an adverb), but PK'ung uses this defining word ku 27 as a noun: shuai si 28 = 29 'to follow the old (actions)'. A comical trick, accepted, however, by Ts'ai Ch'en, Kiang Sheng and Legge. — B. Wang Yin-chi: shuai 30 means yung 31 (based on Mao Heng, but unconfirmed, see Gl. 1089), and si 26 is well attested in the sense of 'to remit, to pardon', e. g. Yao tien (Shun tien) 32 'Offenses by mishap are pardoned'; Chun ts'iu: Chuang 22, phr. 33 'One pardoned the great offenses by mishap' (cf. Gl. 1269). Sun Sing-yen modifies this by taking shuai

as a »particle« (refuted in our Gl. 1406). It is better to take it as = 34 'all' (common, see Gl. 642). Thus: »I shall pardon you all and pity you«. — C. The Kin-wen version ap. Lun heng: Lei hū runs: 35. The line 'to pity' is synonymous with king 36. But yi 37 is more enigmatical. Tuan Yü-ts'ai thinks that it is a variant because of sound similarity, which certainly will not do (26 *sɿəd / sɿ / sɿ: 37 *dɿər / i / yɿ). Yü Yüe believes that both yi 37 and sɿ are »particles«, but for quite insufficient reasons. Wang Ch'ung, who quoted the line as above, believes that yi has its sense of 'to kill': »I (first would) kill (but then) pity you«. This will certainly not do. Yi should have its very common meaning of p'ing 38 'to tranquilize': »I shall tranquilize you all and pity you«. Though not identical in meaning with the Ku-wen version (B above), it is at least very analogous. It is impossible to tell which version best repr. the original Shu.

1820. Wang yüe to shī 39. The stone classics of 175 A. D. read: wang yüe: kao er to shī 40. This being the oldest version extant, it should be followed.

Yü ta kiang er sɿ huo min ming see Gl. 1477.

1821. Yi er hia t'i 41.

A. PK'ung takes hia t'i as a transitive verb: »I have removed you here (so as to) be far away from« (your earlier bad customs). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »I have removed you far«.

1822. Pi shī ch'en wo tsung to sun 42.

A. PK'ung: tsung is an abbrev. for Tsung-Chou 43, the Royal Chou (the Chou having the tsung clan temple): »to associate with and serve and be subject to our Tsung(-Chou), and have much obedience«. (Legge curiously turns it thus: »that you might be near the ministers who had served in our honoured [capital]«). — B. Sun Yi-jang: pi shī 44 means the same as in Shao kao: pi kie yü wo yu Chou yü shī 45 »associate with our Chou's managers of affairs«, thus here: »to pi associate with the shī (managers of) affairs«. No reason for assuming that violent ellipsis. On the other hand, Sun proposes that tsung 46 does not mean Tsung Chou, nor tsung 'clan' generally, but is = 47 »honoured«, as often, and refers to the high officials (cf. Tsiu kao 48 »the honoured officers«). For ch'en cf. To fang 49 »you have served our inspectors«. This is quite convincing, and, taking shī ch'en as a binome, we obtain: »To associate with and serve our dignitaries, with much obedience«. — C. Wang Sien-k'ien would carry tsung to the following: »to associate with and serve us, tsung to sun to reverence (us) and have much obedience«. That is certainly no improvement.

1823. Yü wei sɿ fang wang yu pin, yi wei er to shī yu fu pen tsou ch'en wo to sun 50.

A. Ma Jung defines pin 51 as = 52, which shows that he took it as short-form for pin 53 'to reject', and PK'ung follows this, paraphrasing the w. by pin wai 54

命 23 時惟天命無違 24 時維天命元 25 位在德元 26 無 27 无 28 元 29 違 30 漢熹平石經殘
字集錄 1. 無違 2. 違命 3. 帝命不違 4. 朕不敢有後 5. 誅 6. 命 7. 王不敢後 8. 苟為後義
而先利 9. 夏迪簡在王庭 10. 迪 11. 迪者 12. 簡 13. 于天邑商 14. 天 15. 大 16. 大邑商 17. 大室 18.
天室 19. 冬 20. 冬 21. 天祚 22. 冬 23. 大祖 24. 予惟率肆矜爾 25. 惟我循殷故事 26. 肆 27. 故
28. 率肆 29. 循故 30. 率 31. 用 32. 皆災肆故 33. 肆大眚 34. 皆 35. 予維率德憐爾 36. 矜 37. 君 38. 平
39. 王曰多士 40. 王曰告爾多士 41. 移爾遐遜 42. 比事臣我宗多遜 43. 宗周 44. 比事 45. 比介
于我有周御事 46. 宗 47. 尊 48. 宗工 49. 臣我監 50. 予惟四方罔攸覆亦惟爾多士攸服奔走

'to exclude'. He interprets: »I in the four quarters have none whom I reject; and *pen tsou ch'en wo* the hastening about and serving us *er to shi yu fu* which you many officers perform, *to sun* shall have much obedience». In this way to take *er to shi yu fu* as an attribute to *pen tsou shi wo* is very clumsy. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »I (did it because) the (princes of) the four quarters had nowhere to *pin* (be guests =) perform the guest rites; and also (so that) your many officers (should have a place) where you could perform the hastening about and serving us, with much obedience». The supplying of unexpressed items is much too extensive in the second line of this interpr. — C. Sun Sing-yen explains more naturally (following A for the first part): »I in the four quarters have none whom I reject; and what you many officers should perform, is to hasten about and serve us, with much obedience». — D. Yü Sing-wu would take *wei 55* = 'to think' (common) and *pin 51* = 'to (come as guest =) to submit' (text par. in Kyü: Ch'u yü). But in his paraphrase he takes the first *yu 56* as a relative pronoun, the second *yu* as = 57, which of course is inadmissible. — E. The stone classics of 175 A. D. have *tsê 58* inst. of *pin 51*. But the latter is attested earlier (Ma Jung) and should be given preference.

1824. *Er nai shang yu er t'u er nai shang ning kan chi 59*.

A. This is the PK'ung text version: »May you have your lands, may you find peace in your occupations and your dwellings». — B. Yü Sing-wu considers *shang 60* as short-form for *ch'ang 61*, *kan 62* as a loan char. for *han 63* and *chi 64* as a corruption of *65* (these two being practically identical in Chou script). Thus: »You will forever have you lands, your will forever in peace *han* protect them». Neither in the inscriptions nor in early texts are there any ex. of *shang 60* serving for *ch'ang 61*, and though Yü's loan theory in itself is quite admissible, we should always abstain from »corrections» of the text when the handed-down text is good and makes a satisfactory sense.

1825. *Ki er kü 66*.

A. This is the traditional text: »Perpetuate your dwellings». — B. Yü Yüe would »correct» this into *suei er kü 67* (»Be comforted in =) be happy in your dwellings». An arbitrary text alteration which should be rejected, cf. Gl. 1824 above. — C. Kiang Sheng, on the other hand, would take *kü* not as referring to »dwellings» (since this is expressed in the preceding phr. *tsê er yi* »dwell in your city»), but: »Continue in the (business which you) *kü* occupy». A very far-fetched idea.

1826. *Ts'ung ju ts'ien 68*.

A. PK'ung: »(Following you =) in your wake they will *ts'ien* (move =) be reformed (to goodness)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »It will follow from your removal» (here to Lo). — C. K'ung Kuang-sen has a curious construction of this line together with the preceding ones: *69* »If you who have occupations (i. e. officers) and have years (i. e. seniors) *yü* go to this Lo, your young children will rise and following you remove there». This is far inferior to the ordinary interpr.: »You will have occupations and years in this Lo, your young children will prosper, it will follow from your removal», which connects directly with the *kan* etc. in the preceding lines.

1827. *Wang yüe yu yüe 70*.

A. PK'ung has no gloss. K'ung Ying-ta expounds: »The king having said (this), again has said». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: a comparison with the last lines of the *To fang* shows that some passage after *wang yüe* has been lost: »The king has said...; again he has said». — C. Sun Yi-jang: *yu 71* = 72 and *yu yüe 73* is equal to 74 (cf. Yü Yüe under C in Gl. 1640). Sun would carry the following two words here, reading *wang yüe yu yüe shi yü 75*, and he applies Wang Yin-chi's curious idea that *shi 76* (**ḍiəḡ*) is loan char. for *ch'eng 77* (**ḍiəḡ*) — refuted in Gl. 1249 above —

interpreting: »The king has said: you have words (saying) that you *shī* (receive =) will obey me». A most eccentric speculation. — D. Chang Ping-lin likewise takes *yu* 71 as = 72 and divides thus: *Wang yüe*, *yu yüe shī* 78, expl. *shī* 76 as = 79 in the sense of 'correct, good' (common, see Gl. 553). »The king has said: *yu yüe* there are such who say *shī* that (what I tell you) is good». In To fang, Chang would apply the same constr. to *yu yüe shī* 80... — In several Shu passages we have *yu yüe* 81 where it is perfectly clear and unambiguous that it means »again he said». One is the To fang example just cited (end of that chapter), another is K'ang kao 82 »and again he said: having (summed-up =) tried a case of arrest, reflect upon it five or six days» (here a 83 would make no sense). On these analogies, our *yu yüe* 81 should have its ordinary meaning and not be loan char. for something else. The par. adduced by B is quite convincing.

1828. *Shī yü nai huo yen er yu kü* 84.

In the preceding gloss it was told how certain modern scholars have tried to carry *shī* or *shī yü* to the preceding line, attempts that should not be accepted.

A. KP'ung: *shī* 76 means 79 'correct' in the sense of 'to find correct, to approve of'; and *huo* 85 stands for *yu* 86 (an old idea, refuted in Gl. 1433 above): »Approve of me, then I shall have words which you should (dwell in =) stand by». An obviously impossible interpr. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Those (things) that I may have spoken (have been with a view to) the place where you shall dwell». — C. Kiang Sheng follows PK'ung's idea about *huo* = *yu*: »Now I have (had) words (to tell you), (may you find peace in) the place where you shall dwell». An unacceptable ellipsis. — D. Chuang Shu-tsu takes *huo* 85 as a short-form for *kuo* 87 and *yen* 88 as = 89 'I, we', an old Erya definition, cf. BMFEA 14, p. 83, with a single text support (Chuang: Shan mu). But then the first part of the line cannot be construed without a violent forcing of the text. — E. The line is quite simple, when seen as a concluding remark of the speaker: »Now I have, (perchance =) I hope, (told =) explained where you are to dwell».

Wu yi.

1829. *Kün tsī so k'i wu yi* 90.

A. PK'ung paraphrases very freely in a way that is unreconcilable with the wording of the text. Cheng Hüan is more precise: *so* 91 is equal to *ch'u* 92 'place', here taken as a verb: »The noble man, in (placing =) taking a (place =) stand, *k'i wu yi* will have no pleasurable ease». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes *so* as a transitive verb with the following as object: »The noble man makes his having no pleasurable ease his (place =) stand». — C. Yü Sing-wu takes *so* 91 as a corruption of 93 = 94, the correct line being 95, whatever that may mean. — D. Another interpr. Both A and B are awkward. *K'i* 96 should in fact be a verb, governing the preceding *so*, and therefore *k'i* 96 is merely a short-form for the homophonous *k'i* 97 (both **g'iag* / *g'ji* / *k'i*) 'to hope for, to aim at'. Thus: »What the noble man aims at, is to have no pleasurable ease». Cf.

臣我多遜 51 虞 52 卻 53 據 54 賓 55 惟 56 攸 57 用 58 負 59 爾乃尚有爾土爾乃尚寧幹止
60 尚 61 常 62 幹 63 翰 64 止 65 之 66 繼爾居 67 綏爾居 68 從汝遷 69 爾厥有幹有年于茲洛
爾小子乃與從爾遷 70 王曰又曰 71 又 72 有 73 又曰 74 有言 75 王曰又曰時予 76 時 77 承
78 王曰又曰時 79 是 80 又曰時 81 又曰 82 又曰要囚服念五大日 83 有曰 84 時予乃或言
爾攸居 85 或 86 有 87 國 88 言 89 我 90 君子所其無違 91 所 92 處 93 攸 94 給 95 君子給其無

Meng: Kao tsī, shang 98 »All the world aims at Yi Ya (i. e. tries to be like him)«. For k' i 96 as short-form for 97 cf. Yi Hi ts' i, hia: 99. Here Shīwen says: »96, also wr. 97«, which shows that Lu Tê-ming had a text version with the short-form 96.

1830. Tsê chī siao jen chī yi 99 b.

This follows upon: »If you take your ease after first having experienced the hardships of husbandry«.

A. PK'ung: »Then you will understand what the small people (have to) rely on (sc. for their support)«. — B. Wang Yin-chī: y i 100 (*'iər / 'jɛi / y i) is a loan char. for 1 (*'iən / 'iən / y i n), and cognate to 2 (*'ər / 'əi / a i), thus: »You will know the sufferings of the people«. Later in our chapter we find in a quite analogous context: »He did not know the hardships of husbandry 3, he did not hear about the toils of the small people«. Our y i 100 (whether it stands for *'iən or for *'ər) must be analogous to l a o 'toils', which confirms B.

1831. Nai yi nai yen 4.

A. This is PK'ung's version, and he defines yen 5 as = 6 'insubordinate speech': »Then they take their ease and speak insubordinately«. Yen 5 *ngian / ngiän / yen ordinarily means 'a proverb, a saying', but PK'ung must have thought of Lun: Sien tsin 7 »Yu is insubordinate« (refractory, rude), our 5 thus standing for this 8 *ngân / ngân / a n. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: y e n 'proverb, saying' by extension here means 'vulgar speech': »Then they take their ease and speak vulgarly«. — C. In the stone classics of 175 A. D. the line runs: 9. The char. 10 is merely a variant of 11, which is the same as 12 of the A version. But 13 (*xiän / xiän / h i e n) must here (with Kiang Sheng) mean 'to rejoice', as in Ode 254, see Gl. 924. Thus: »Then they take their pleasurable ease and rejoice«. Yü Sing-wu takes h i e n in its sense of 14 'law, pattern', which is less suitable in the context. (Yü has to take it together with the following: 15 »they take as pattern those who k i t a n are extravagant«). — C, besides being the oldest version extant, has the advantage that y i and h i e n are analogous expressions.

1832. Ki tan fou tsê wu küe fu mu 16.

A. The stone classics of 175 A. D. inst. of t a n 17 had y e n 18, and it seems that Sī-ma Ts'ien had the same, for (in Lu shī kia) he paraphrases the two first words by 19 »extending for a long time«. But, as Wang Ming-sheng insists, y e n 18 is merely a short-form for t a n 17 (without radical, Chou fashion), as proved by the context: a row of disparaging words about the unworthy sons. — B. PK'ung: t a n 17 = 'to cheat' ('great words, boast' = 'cheat' is a well-attested extension of meaning in this word): »And finally they cheat (their parents); and fou if not, tsê then they insult their parents«. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: »And finally they become (extravagant =) disorderly; and if not, then they« etc. (as under B), cf. Gl. 1627. — D. Kiang Sheng: in the ancient script 20 was the primary graph for both p u 20 and f o u 21, and the rad. in the latter is a later elucidating addition. We should read here 22, one item in the row of disparaging phrases: »And finally they become (extravagant =) disorderly, p u tsê and lawless and insult their parents«. — E. Chuang Shu-tsu: the original graph must have been 20, and this has been erroneously enlarged into f o u 21; instead, it stands for p'ei 23 (20 for 23 is exceedingly common), and thus t a n p'ei becomes a synonym-compound: »And finally they become t a n ('great, extravagant' =) disorderly and p'ei ('great' =) overbearing, and insult their parents. This is strikingly plausible.

T'ien ming tsī tu chī min chī kü see Gl. 1676.

1833. K' i tsai Kao Tsung shī kiu lao yü wai 24.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien (when referring to this in Yin pen ki) punctuates after t s u n g, reading shī kiu lao yü wai as one clause: »When (it rested with Kao Tsung =) the turn came to Kao Tsung, shī he for long toiled (outside =) away from the court«. This

interpr. was evidently current in Han time, for Chung lun: Yao shou quotes 25, where shī 26, replacing 27, means 'that one, he'. Sī-ma renders kiu 28 (*g'üŋ / g'üŋ / kiu) by 29 (*k'üŋ / k'üŋ / kiu), the two words being certainly cognate. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after shu: »At the time of Kao Tsung, (he) for long...». (Legge replaces »for long» by »at first», which is no improvement). But the par. in the following line: K' i tsai Tsu Kia 30 shows that the line should end by the name, and that A is right.

1834. Yüan ki siao jen 31.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien (translating ki 32, variant 33, by yü 34 '[to be] together with') renders the line: wei yü siao jen 35. Now the two char. yüan 36 and wei 37 are very similar and easily confounded, and the question is which of them is primary here. If we possess Sī-ma's text unaltered, wei is correct and Sī-ma had a Shu version reading wei ki siao jen 38: »He (acted =) worked together with the small people». This was evidently the Shu text possessed by Ma Jung, for he paraphrases: 39 »together with the small people he attended to business», and this confirms that the actual Shī ki text is uncorrupted. — B. But Cheng Hsüan had already yüan 36, which he defines by yü 40 (more precisely it should be 41), and he speculates on the idea that Kao Tsung lead great warfares for his father, in the interest of the people: »Then he (led warfare) ki in favour of the small people». This latter is far from convincing, but we could certainly retain the yüan 36 and interpret: »yüan then ki he associated with the small people». — We have no sufficient reasons for doubting that the oldest version attested (Sī-ma's) really had wei 37, since Ma Jung confirms it. And we should follow it, in spite of the yüan which is earliest attested some two centuries later.

1835. Tso k' i tsi wei 42.

A. PK'ung: tso 43 = 44 (common): »He rose, and when he ascended the throne». — B. Sun Sing-yen: tso 43 simply means 45 'to begin, first', properly: in the rising, in the start: »In the start, when he ascended the throne».

1836. Nai huo liang yin 46.

Sī-ma Ts'ien, foll. by PK'ung, renders huo 47 by yu 48, which was criticized in Gl. 1453 and 1828 above. Liang yin 49 is variously written: 50 (Lun: Hien wen) which has caused Ma Jung to interpret: »liang trusting to his assistant he yin was (obscure =) silent»; or 51 (Han shu: Wu hing chī); or 52 (Li: Sang fu sī chī); or 53 in Shang shu ta chuan, there defined as = 54 'mourning shed', Cheng Hsüan explaining that liang 55 is equal to 56 'lintel, beam', which is not very elucidating; or, finally, 57 (Shī ki: Lu shī kia). The word 58 (*əm / 'ām / a n), means 'dark', cognate to 59 *'äm / 'äm / yin 'dark, shadow' etc. and it certainly never means 'shed, hut' (Chu Tsün-sheng believes that it is loan word for 60, a word unknown in pre-Han texts). But Yü Sing-wu proceeds to take liang 55 to be a corruption of 61 'thorn', and liang a there-

逸 其 期 天 下 期 於 易 牙 則 知 小 人 之 依 依 1. 隨 2. 哀 3. 不 聞 小 人 之 弱 4. 乃
逸 乃 誘 5. 誘 6. 教 誘 7. 由 也 誘 8. 誘 9. 乃 効 乃 憲 10. 効 11. 佚 12. 逸 13. 憲 14. 法 15. 乃 憲 既 誕
6. 既 誕 否 則 侮 厥 父 母 17. 誕 18. 延 19. 至 長 久 20. 不 21. 否 22. 不 則 23. 至 24. 其 在 高 宗 時 舊 勞
于 外 25. 寔 勞 于 外 26. 寔 27. 時 28. 舊 29. 久 30. 其 在 祖 甲 31. 爰 暨 小 人 32. 暨 33. 泊 34. 與 35. 為 與
小 人 36. 爰 37. 為 38. 為 暨 (泊) 小 人 39. 與 小 人 從 事 40. 于 41. 于 是 42. 作 其 即 位 43. 作 44. 起 45. 始
46. 乃 或 亮 陰 47. 或 48. 有 49. 亮 陰 50. 諒 陰 51. 涼 陰 52. 諒 闇 53. 梁 闇 54. 凶 廬 55. 梁 56. 楣 57. 亮 闇
58. 闇 59. 陰 60. 庵 61. 荊 62. 其 惟 不 言 言 乃 難 63. 難 64. 謹 65. 謹 66. 不 言 之 教 無 為 之 沒 天 下 帝

fore would mean 'a thornwood-covered hut' (!). I have already stated (Gl. 786) my reasons for believing that the phr. is an antithesis: »liang the light is yin (an) obscured» (the brilliant ruler withdraws into dark seclusion). Thus: »Then, huo it is said, liang yin the light was obscured (i. e. the ruler withdrew into seclusion)».

1837. K'i wei pu yen yen nai yung 62.

Li ki: T'an Kung inst. of yung 63 quotes 64 (foll. by Si-ma Ts'ien), but the quotation as a whole is truncated and therefore unreliable; probably the char. 65 (in Han time enlarged into 64) is a corruption of the graphically similar 63.

A. PK'ung: »After his having (not spoken =) kept silent, when he spoke, then (the world) became concordant». — B. This is bad enough, but Cheng Hsüan is still worse: »During his not speaking, if he (after all on some occasion) spoke, then (all subjects) became concordant». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: »He would not speak, but (if he) spoke, then (it was) concordant (words)». — D. Another interpr. The line is one clause, not two: »His speaking without words (i. e. by his example) was harmonious». Cf. Lao 43, phr. 66 »The teaching without words, the doing good without action, few in the world attain to that».

1838. Kia tsing Yin pang 67.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »He finely tranquillized Yin's state». — B. Si-ma Tsien has 68, this mi by Ma Jung defined as = 69; mi-tsing thus is a binome: »He tranquillized Yin's state». This in itself proves little, since Si-ma often made very free with the Shu text, but in Tung kuan Han ki we find the line cited 70, which confirms that mi tsing was really the Kin-wen version. This being thus much earlier attested than A, we should follow it.

1839. Wu shi yu kiu nien 71.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »(Kao Tsung's enjoying the realm) was for 59 years». — B. Si-ma Ts'ien has 72 »for 55 years». — C. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: K'i shou): »Kao Tsung enjoyed the realm for 100 years» and this is followed by the stone classics of 175 A. D. This, however, probably is due to a confusion with another tradition that he became 100 years old. Liu Hsiang (ap. Han shu: Liu Hsiang chuan) says: 73 »Kao Tsung had the felicity of a 100 years». — We should follow the earliest attested version* (B).

1840. K'i tsai Tsu Kia pu yi wei wang 74.

A. Ma Jung identifies Tsu Kia with Wu Ting's son Tsu Kia or Ti Kia 75: »When the turn came to Tsu Kia, he did not find it right to become king» (sc. but ceded in favour of his less wise elder brother). Cheng Hsüan and Ts'ai Ch'en follow this. Against that has been adduced Kyü: Chou yü: »Ti Kia 75 brought disorder, and after 7 generations (the dynasty) collapsed». How could the Shu praise him as a pattern of virtue? This objection of course has no force: Shu and Kuo yü represent here two different traditions that need not agree. — B. Wang Shun and Liu Hin, in a memorial to the throne of 6 B. C. (ap. Han shu: Wei Yüan-ch'eng chuan), propose that Tsu Kia was T'ang's grandson T'ai Kia 76. Wang Su and PK'ung follow this, and the latter explains: »When the turn came to Tsu Kia (= T'ai Kia), he (was king =) ruled in an unrighteous way» (Chavannes accepts this). The great difficulty with this interpr., namely that T'ai Kia is mentioned after the much later Kao Tsung, is explained away in an amusing way: he was not so virtuous as Kao Tsung, and he ruled only 33 years, as against the 59 (55) years of Kao Tsung! But quite apart from this absurd argumentation, there is a serious doubt whether after all the original Shu had the items in this order of the orthodox text: Chung tsung: Kao Tsung: Tsu Kia. In the orthodox version, the concluding line after the one about Tsu Kia's years of reign runs: ts'i shi k'ue hou 77 »after this»; but in the stone classics of 175 A. D. this line follows after that about Kao Tsung and his years of reign, and it seems possible that the Kin-wen version really had a different sequence: Tsu Kia: Chung Tsung: Kao Tsung. — C. After all the Ku-wen sequence: Chung Tsung: Kao Tsung: Tsu Kia is preferable,

for to that corresponds the decreasing scale of years. Chung Tsung 75 years: Kao Tsung 55 years: Tsu Kia 33 years, and this is definitely confirmed later in our chapter where we have 78 »From the Yin king Chung Tsung, to Kao Tsung and to Tsu Kia and to our Chou Wen Wang«. This most plausible sequence in the Shu chapter thus after all decides in favour of interpr. A, as far as the identity of Tsu Kia is concerned: he followed after Kao Tsung and was id. with the Ti Kia 75 of the chronologies. But Ma's interpr.: »he did not find it right« is a scholastic construction, in support of which the »ceding« in favour of a brother has been invented — no pre-Han text contains any such tradition. Pu y i 79 »it was not right« is equal to 80 »it is not right (reasonable)« the two words 81 *ngia, falling tone, and *ngia, even tone, being two aspects of the same word stem. The line means: »It was not (right =) to be expected that he became king« (sc. two brothers preceding him on the throne). In fact we know from the Yin king list in Shī ki that Wu Ting's first successor was Tsu Keng 83, and from Lü: Pi ki that Wu Ting had another son Hiao Ki 84 (Tsu Ki). The oracle bones confirm this, the sequence probably being: Wu Ting: Tsu Keng: Tsu Ki: Tsu Kia (see Tung Tso-pin: Kia ku wen tuan tai yen kiu li, in »Studies to Ts'ai Yuan P'ei . . . 1933, p. 330). It is particularly valuable that the bone inscriptions have the name form Tsu Kia 85, like our Shu passage, and this Tsu Kia is obviously not identical with the grandson of T'ang's, for the latter likewise occurs in the bone inscriptions and in his regular name form T'ai Kia 76.

1841. Neng pao huei yü shu min 86.

A. PK'ung interprets pao huei by 87 »He could peacefully accord with the common people«. — B. Si-ma Ts'ien renders huei 88 by 89 'to bestow gifts on', thus taking it in its common meaning of 'to be kind to': »He could give protection and kindness to the common people«.

Wei tan lo chī ts'ung see Gl. 949.

1842. Yi wang huo k'o shou 90.

A. PK'ung again, as often earlier, explains huo 91 by yu 92 (cf. Gl. 1453 and 1828 above), in this following Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Yü tseng) who renders it: 93 »There also wang huo (= wu yu) were none k'o who could reach a high age«. — B. Huo has its ordinary sense: »Also wang there were none who huo k'o (peradventure could reach =) had any chance of reaching a high age«.

1843. K'ue yi wei wo Chou 94.

A. This is PK'ung's version. K'ue 95 should be compared to the earlier line 96 »(Its resting with Chung Tsung = when it rested with Chung Tsung =) when the turn came to Chung Tsung«. Thus here: »(Its likewise being on Chou =) When it in the same way was (the turn of) our Chou«. — B. Shang shu ta chuan has a quotation: 97 »Shu king says: At the foundation of the Son-of-Heaven's (rank =) high office«. In Po hu t'ung, the current editions, the same line is quoted from Shu wu yi p'ien 98 »the chapter Wu yi of the Shu king«, and Tuan Yü-ts'ai concludes that this was the Kin-wen version here as opposed to PK'ung's Ku-wen (A). This conclusion would seem plausible but is, after all unsafe, for in an edition of the period Ta tê (1297—1307) of the Po hu t'ung (photogr.

及之 67 嘉靖殷邦 68 密靖殷國 69 安 70 密靜 71 五十有九年 72 五十有五年 73 高宗有百
年之福 74 其在祖甲不義惟王 75 帝甲 76 太甲 77 自時厥後 78 自殷王中宗及高宗及祖
甲及我周文王 79 不義 80 不宜 81 義 82 宜 83 祖庚 84 孝己 85 祖甲 86 能保惠于庶民 87 安
順 88 惠 89 施 90 亦罔或克壽 91 或 92 有 93 罔有克壽 94 厥亦惟我周 95 厥 96 其在仲宗 97
書曰厥兆天子爵 98 書無逸篇 99 書逸篇 100 文王卑服即康功田功 1 服 2 事 3 卑 4 俾

reprint in *Si pu ts'ung k'an*), which in its turn reproduced an academy edition of the Sung era, has instead: 99 »a lost chapter of the Shu king». It is thus too risky to prefer the supposed but unproved Kin-wen line to the Ku-wen.

1844. Wen wang pei fu tsi k'ang kung t'ien kung 100.

A. PK'ung punctuates: Wen Wang pei fu, tsi k'ang kung t'ien kung: »Wen wang pei made (low =) simple fu his clothes, and tsi applied himself to his tranquillizing work and his agricultural work». — **B.** Kiang Sheng punctuates: Wen Wang pei fu tsi k'ang, kung t'ien kung. He takes fu 1 as = 2 'business, occupation' (common): »Wen Wang in (low =) simple occupations (approached peace =) found peace, he kung achieved t'ien kung agricultural achievements». — **C.** Sun Sing-yen punctuates like A, but takes fu = 'business' like B: »Wen Wang applied himself to simple occupations, peaceful achievements and agricultural achievements». Sun resorts to the unallowable trick of interpreting as if tsi 'to approach, apply oneself to' stood before pei fu inst. of before k'ang kung. — **D.** Ma Jung inst. of pei 3 had pei 4 'to cause', but it is difficult to see how the line could then make sense. — **E.** Yü Yü: pei 4 or 3 is loan char. for 5 in the sense of 'to place together, to sort': »Wen Wang arranged the affairs». But this loan is phonetically excluded (3, 4 *piëg: 5 *piär). — **F.** Sun Yi-jang tries to vindicate that pei 4 could mean 'to follow': »Wen Wang pei followed and fu performed» (sc. the virtue of the predecessors). But for pei in that sense there is no text support, and, besides, the expl. is much too elliptical. — **G.** Chang Ping-lin would take k'ang 6 in the sense of 'road': and k'ang kung = »the business of (making smooth and easy) the roads», a bizarre idea. — **H.** Yü Sing-wu: In the Ta Yü Ting inscr. the word wei 7 'to fear' is wr. 8 and 9. Our original text must have had wei 10 »Wen wang was awed and submissive», and wei written as 8 or 9 has been misunderstood by the Han scribes and deciphered as 4. This is very ingenious and tempting. But in the preceding line we had k'o ts'i yi wei 11 »they could restrain themselves and be awed». If the supposedly erring Han scribe had before him an original that had two wei written 9, he would not have correctly deciphered the first as wei 7 and the second as 9; and to suppose that the original in two consecutive lines had two wei 7 written so radically differently as to cause a different Han-time decipherment, is not plausible. — **I.** Another interpr. Yü Sing-wu is right in thinking that fu 1 means 'submissive', since it follows up the idea expressed in the preceding line; moreover the legends abound in tales how he remained a loyal subject to the last Yin king (his son Wu Wang being the real rebel). Pei 'low' has an analogous sense. Thus: »Wen Wang was (low =) humble and submissive, he applied himself to peaceful achievements and agricultural achievements».

1845. Huei sien kuan kua 12.

A. This is PK'ung's version. For the meaning: »He was kind and good to widowers and widows» see Gl. 1447. PK'ung took sien as = 13: »He was kind to destitute and lone peoples»; Ts'ai Ch'en: »He was kind to and sien refreshed the widowers and widows»; Yü Yü: sien 14 (*sian) stands for 15 (*siëg) and this for 16 (*siëg) »He was kind to and bestowed gifts on...»; Chang Ping-lin: »He was kind to sien those prematurely dead and to widowers and widows» — all to be rejected, particularly for rhythmical reasons, see B. below. — **B.** The Kin-wen version ap. Han shu: Ku Yung chuan and the stone classics of 175 A. D. read huei yü 17. Tuan Yü-ts'ai supposes that yü 18 is correct and that this has been first corrupted into 19 and then this latter augmented by a 20 through influence from the following word, a very forced theory (Yü Sing-wu moreover takes this yü 18 to be equal to wu 21: »He was kind to our widowers and widows»). — A is rhythmically better, the whole passage being built up with two-word groups: Huei-jou — yi-kung, huai-pao — siao-min, huei-sien — kuan-kua.

1846. Hien ho wan min 22.

A. PK'ung defines hien by 23, thus its usual meaning: »He harmonized all the myriad people». — B. Kiang Sheng: hien 24 »In all (places) he harmonized . . .» — C. Yü Yü: hien 25 is a verb coordinated with ho and with an analogous sense. This is certainly right. The fundamental sense being 'all', as a verb it can mean 'to unite', either intransitively 'to unite with, be concordant with' and is then wr. by the enlarged char. 26 (etym. same word), as in Shao kao 27 »May he grandly be able to be concordant with the small people»; or, as here, transitive: »He united and harmonized the myriad people». This does justice to the stylistic utilization of two-word groups here in our chapter: hien - ho wan - min.

1847. 1. 1. Yi shu pang wei cheng ch'i kung 28.

2. Yi wan min wei cheng ch'i kung 29.

A. PK'ung in both lines has free paraphrases which are not reconcilable with the Shu text; he takes cheng 30 in 1 as = 31 »the right principles» or »to make correct one's principles», in 2 as = 32 »to correct one's person». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: 1. »From the many states (2: From the myriad people) only cheng the correct (amounts) he kung (caused to be furnished) demanded in tribute». It is very forced thus to take kung as a causative verb. — C. Kyü: Ch'u yü quotes 33, and Kiang Sheng follows this: »The government, that he paid reverent attention to», and, since in Han shu: Ku Yung chuan, where our Shu passages are quoted, both the 3 words yi shu pang 34 and the 3 words yi wan min 35 are missing, Kiang concludes that they are arbitrary additions made by PK'ung, and he leaves them out. In Ku Yung chuan, however, the line is quoted 36, and Wang Yin-chi has modified Kiang's interpr. That cheng 30 is a short-form for cheng 37 'government' (as often), in accord with Kiang, is obvious. But kung was originally wr. 38 (as in Ku Yung chuan) without radical (Chou fashion), cf. Gl. 1401 above, and the Han scholars in transcribing the ancient texts filled it out either into 39 (as in Kyü), or into 39a (as in PK'ung's text), according as they understood the line. The latter is here right. The words yi shu pang and yi wan min should not be eliminated, since Ku Yung-chuan may simply represent an abbreviation, but yi means 'taking' = 'along with, together with' (common): 1. »Together with the many states he (furnished =) managed the government»; 2. »Together with the myriad people he should (furnish =) manage the government».

1848. Ki ts'i kin si wang tsê k'i wu yin... 40.

A. PK'ung takes the whole ki ts'i kin as an attribute to si wang, tsê as the particle and k'i as the optative mark: »The succeeding kings who will continue (the line) from now, should not be excessive . . .» — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes ki ts'i kin as an adverbial phr. and tsê as a verb 'to take as pattern', k'i referring to the just-mentioned Wen Wang; »Continuing from now, the succeeding king (i. e. Ch'eng Wang) tsê should take as pattern k'i wu yin his not being excessive». — As to the construction A is confirmed by the Kin-wen version, attested in the 1st c. B. C. (ap. Han shu: Ku Yung chuan), which simply has no tsê 41: si wang k'i wu yin. But it is better, with B, to take wang in the singular, referring to Ch'eng Wang, as confirmed by the

5 比 6 康 7 畏 8 畏 9 畏 10 畏服 11 克 自抑畏 12 惠解鯀窮 13 之 14 鮮 15 斯 16 賜 17 惠于
鯀窮 18 于 19 羊 20 魚 21 吾 22 咸和萬民 23 皆 24 偏 25 咸 26 誠 27 不能誠于小民 28 以庶邦
惟正之供 29 以萬民惟正之供 30 正 31 正道 32 正身 33 唯政之恭 34 以庶邦 35 以萬民 36
惟正之共 37 政 38 共 39 恭 40 供 41 繼自今嗣王則其無淫 42 則 43 無淫于觀于遊于田

last line of our chapter. Thus: »The succeeding king, who will continue (the line) from now, should not be excessive....»

1849. Wu yin yü kuan yü yi yü yu yü t'ien 42.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »He should not be excessive in sight-seeing, in idleness, in excursions, in hunting». An enumeration with yü 43 repeated like this is stylistically very poor and betrays that the text is corrupted. — B. The Kin-wen version ap. Han shu: Ku Yung chuan (document from the 1st c. B. C.), confirmed, from the 4th char., by the stone classics of 175 A. D., read 44: »He should not be excessive in wine and not licentious in excursions and hunting». Here the analogous yin and yi balance each other, and the text is much superior to A.

1850. Wu huang yue kin jī tan lo 45.

A. PK'ung takes huang 46 as = 47: »Do not take leisure and say: to day I will (be steeped in =) indulge in pleasure». — B. The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read 48. The char. 49 is here a short-form for huang (Pek. k'uang) 50, as often: »Do not moreover say: to day I will (be steeped in =) indulge in pleasure». We should compare:

Shu: Wu yi (later in the chapter): Tsê huang tsī king tē 51.

A. PK'ung here takes huang 46 as = 52 'great': »They greatly paid careful attention to their virtue». — B. Cheng Hūan here (cf. A above) takes huang as = 53, i. e. as = 47: »They took leisure carefully to attend to their virtue». — C. The stone classics of 175 A. D. read 54 and Wang Su, following this, elucidatingly writes 55, defining huang (k'uang) as = 56 'to augment': »Then all the more they paid careful attention to their virtue».

Shu: Ts'in shī: Wo huang to yu chī 57.

A. This is PK'ung's version. He paraphrases 58, rendering huang by ts'ien 59; it is entirely obscure what he meant by that. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: huang = 47: »How could I have leisure to have many of them (sc. the bad councillors)». — C. Kung-yang: Wen 12 quotes 60; here 50 is of course an enlarged form of a Chou form 49 without radical, as above: »Should I moreover have many of them!« Wang Nien-sun has proposed that this line has another meaning: »I moreover largely have befriended them, expressing a regret. It is true that yu 61 sometimes stands for the homophonous yu 62, see Gl. 208. But the paragraph describes whom the prince wants as coadjutors: (The old men) wo shang yu chī 63 »I rather will have them« (shang 64 is the optative = 'would that, wish to'); (the strong men) wo shang pu yü 65 »I rather will not have them; (the flatterers) wo huang to yu chī 57 »should I moreover have many of them«. Wang Nien-sun would also take the yu in the first line as = 62: »I rather will befriend them«. But that is not plausible, for the contrast between 1. and 2. is obvious: 1. »I will yu chī have them: 2. »I pu yü will not have them«. Thus yu 61 here evidently has its ordinary meaning; and *eo ipso* it has the same meaning in the 3rd line. In regard to the word which principally concerns us here: huang, the parallelism with shang 64 shows it to be an adverb, which confirms the reading 50 against the Ku-wen 46, which is simply an error for the similar 49. — This being so in our 3rd Shu example, it is preferable to apply this result to the two preceding ones and prefer the Kin-wen reading 49 huang (k'uang) in all three cases; all the more since it is the earliest attested.

1851. Nai fei min yu hūn fei t'ien yu jo.

A. PK'ung: »That is not that by which one teaches the people, it is not that by which one accords with Heaven». Min and t'ien are thus construed as direct objects placed before the verbs. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes min and t'ien as subjects, which is certainly right: »It is not what the people [should] (be taught =) take as norm, it is not what Heaven (accords with =) approves of». Evidently Ts'ai in regard to hūn has thought of Ode 256, phr. 66 »The states of the four quarters take their lesson from him».

But it is a weakness that one thus has to supply the notion »should» in the first line but not in the second, which spoils the parallelism. — C. H ü n 67 is often defined as = s h u n 68, an extension of meaning: 'to be instructed, to be trained, docile, compliant', see Gl. 1542. Thus: »That is not what the people comply with, it is not what Heaven approves of». Yü Yüe rightly advocates this, since it makes the two verbs h ü n and j o analogous. This idea, besides, was already advanced by Hu Yin (Sung time) who paraphrases: 69. 1852. Shī jen p'ei tsê yu k'ien 70.

A. PK'ung takes tsê 71 as the particle: »Those people then will greatly have faults». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: tsê is the noun: »The people of the age greatly will tsê take as pattern yu k'ien the faults you have». Kiang Sheng turns it differently: »Those people will greatly take (you) as pattern and have faults». But first »those people» suits the context badly; and secondly a good par. shows that Ts'ai is right in taking yu k'ien as object to tsê: K'ang kao: p'ei tsê min tê 72 »Grandly take as pattern the active virtue» (of the ancients).

1853. Yin wang Shou 73.

The name form 74 *d'îôg / îîqu / shou is the Ku-wen version. The Kin-wen version ap. Lun heng: K'ien kao and Han shu: Liu Hiang chuan had Yin wang Chou 75, with the name form 76 *d'îôg / d'îqu / chou.

1854. H ü y ü tsiu tê 77. For h ü and variants cf. Gl. 1500.

A. PK'ung paraphrases 78 »He considered it a virtue to be mad with wine», which of course is unreconcilable with the text. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: tê means 'character, disposition', either good or bad. Thus: »... and his disposition of one madly given to wine». Cf. Shu: P'an Keng 79 »(Heaven) sent down to us evil dispositions».

1855. Wu huo sū chou chang wei huan 80. For huo 81, by PK'ung and others taken to mean yu 82, but really a mark of incertitude ('forte, possibly'), wu huo = »there were hardly any», see Gl. 1428 above. For 83 *îîôg / îîqu / chou in the binome chou chang 84 there are the variants 85 (Erya = 'to impose on, to cheat', the comm. Kuo P'o quoting our Shu line), and 86 (Ma Jung's version), all with the same sound; 87 occurs in Ode 142.

1856. Ts'î k'ue pu t'ing jen nai hün chī nai pien luan sien wang chī cheng hing 88.

A. PK'ung: »Now, if he (the king) does not listen (to good counsellors), people (sc. who are bad) will instruct him, and so he will change and disorder the former kings' correct laws». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »If you do not listen (to this), people (i. e. your ministers) will hün chī take you as pattern, and you will (all) change...» etc. — C. The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read: (ts'î) k'ue pu sheng jen nai hün pien luan cheng hing 89. Kiang Sheng adopts this, defining (after Erya) sheng 90 as = 91 'to penetrate' (with the mind) 'i. e. 'to be wise': »If you are

43. 于 44. 毋淫于酒毋逸于遊田 45. 無皇曰今日耽樂 46. 皇 47. 違 48. 毋兄曰 49. 兄 50. 況(況) 51. 則皇自敬德 52. 大 53. 服 54. 則兄自敬德 55. 則況 56. 滋益 57. 我皇多有之 58. 我前多有之 59. 前 60. 而況乎我多有之 61. 有 62. 友 63. 我尚有之 64. 尚 65. 我尚不欲 66. 四方其訓之 67. 訓 68. 順 69. 民心不從天意不順 70. 時人不則有愆 71. 則 72. 丕則敬德 73. 殷王受 74. 受 75. 殷王紂 76. 紂 77. 酗于酒德 78. 以酒為德 79. 降我凶德 80. 無或胥譏張為幻 81. 或 82. 有 83. 譏 84. 譏張 85. 將張 86. 朝張 87. 伯 88. 此厥不聽人乃訓之乃變亂先王之正刑 89. 厥不聖人乃訓變

not wise in this, people will h ũ n (instruct =) guide you to change and disorder the former kings' correct laws». The archaic graphs for sheng and t'ing are so very similar (see Grammata p. 345) that the transcribers in Han time could equally well mistake a sheng for a t'ing as a t'ing for a sheng. — C. Sun Sing-yen accepts t'ing but follows B in rejecting the chī 92, and reads the first two phrases as a whole: ts'ī kŭe pu t'ing jen nai hŭn »If you now do not listen to people's instructions (i. e. advice)». This is impossible since it disregards the nai 93. Moreover the phr. ts'ī kŭe pu t'ing (sheng) as a complete clause recurs later in our chapter. — D. The Kin-wen's sheng certainly gives the best meaning in the context; cf. Ode 198, phr. 94 »Some (men) are wise, some are not» (etc., several ex. in the Odes). H ũ n evidently has the same meaning as in Gl. 1851 above: »If now you are not wise, people will comply with you, and change and disorder the former kings' correct laws». Ts'ī 'this' means »now» as opposed to the ku jen »the ancient men» in the preceding line.

Tsê huang tsī king tē see Gl. 1850.

1857. Y ũ n jo shī 95.

A. PK'ung refers this to the dissatisfied people: »If they truly (say) like this». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »When it truly was like this». Supported by a par. a few lines later: tsê jo shī 96 »When it then is like this». — C. Kiang Sheng carries the line to the preceding, as part of the king's speech: »(That is my fault), it was truly like that» (Chang Ping-lin says that the stone classics of 175 A. D. had 97, which he translates: »they (my faults) are huang great like that»; but the stone classics sure enough read y ũ n 98 like PK'ung). — Whereas C is quite plausible in itself, the par. adduced under B is decisive in favour of the latter.

1858. Pu yung nien kŭe pi 99.

A. PK'ung: »You will not be always thinking of your (being a) sovereign». — B. Kiang Sheng: »You will not be always thinking of your crimes», this after Erya: 100 = 1; 100 is then a short-form for 2 'depravity'. — C. Sun Sing-yen: »You will not be always thinking of your laws» (pi = 3 common). This points directly to the following lines about unjust punishments.

Kün Shi.

1859. Kŭe ki yung fu y ũ hui 4.

A. PK'ung: »In their foundation (time), they always were faithful to the fine (principles)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases 5, whatever that jumble of words may mean; Legge renders it: »Its foundation will forever be sincerely established in prosperity»(!). Kiang Sheng repeats Ts'ai's inane paraphrase. — C. Sun Sing-yen: fu 6 = 7 (cf. Gl. 1491 above, where the Ku-wen version had 6 *p'ŭg but the Kin-wen version 7 *piu, Sun considering the former as loan char. for the latter), paraphrasing: 8 »That Yin's beginning forever was endowed with prosperity». This is almost as meaningless as B (the beginning being forever endowed?) — D. Another interpr. Fu 6 is common meaning 'to trust', e. g. Lo kao: tso Chou fu sien 9 »Cause the Chou to be trusted and take precedence». This is the meaning here as well: »In the foundation time, for all future one trusts in one's felicity; (but Heaven is not to be relied on)».

Jo t'ien fei ch'en see Gl. 1207, 1609.

K'ī chung ch'u y ũ pu siang »It will finally end in misfortune», see Gl. 140. For siang 10, the stone classics of 175 A. D. had the homophonous 11, a common loan, especially on mirrors of the Han epoch. The same stone version had tao 12 inst. of chung 13 (var. 14): »The road will end in misfortune», which must represent the Kin-wen version.

1860. Kün yi yüe shī wo 15.

A. PK'ung, following the tradition expressed in the Shu sü and Si-ma Ts'ien (Yen shī kia), that Shao Kung disapproved of Chou Kung's remaining in office in the capital, takes *yi* 16 as a final particle, *yüe* as merely a particle and *shī* 17 = 18 as a verb 'to find correct': »Kün yi Oh prince, shī wo approve of me» (sc. that I stay in office). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, in the wake of Chu Hi and other Sung scholars, surmises that it was Shao Kung who wished to retire and that Chou Kung persuaded him to remain in office. Ts'ai explains: »Kün yi yüe You, prince, have already said: shī wo (that is we =) that depends on us», referring to an earlier (unattested) utterance of Shao Kung. But *shī wo* = »that depends on us» would indeed be a curious construction. — C. Wang Sien-k'ien tries to reconcile the B construction (Kün yi yüe as belonging together) with the fundamental idea of A that Chou Kung wanted Shao Kung's approval of his own staying in power: »You, prince, have already said that you approve of me». — D. Chang Ping-lin, likewise takes *yüe* 19 as the common particle, and considers *shī* 17 as a loan char. for *tai* 20 'to wait' (the original graph would then have been simply 41 without radical, Chou fashion, wrongly filled out into *shī* 17 inst. of *tai* 20, cf. E below); thus: »Oh prince, yi 16 stop, tai wo wait for me (sc. to have achieved my work)». This is tempting, but it is a decided weakness to take *yüe* as a particle right in the middle of the line. — E. Another interpr. *Shī* in the sense of 'to approve of' is far-fetched here. We may take it as very probable that the original graph was simply 21 without radical, Chou fashion, (cf. D above), but then as a short-form for *shī* 22 'to rest on, to rely on': »You, prince, have said that it depends on me». This comes in very logically: Chou Kung first says that the future of the new dynasty is uncertain. Then he says: You (prince Shao) have said that it depends on me, the regent during king Ch'eng's minority, and I always try to be prudent and careful. For *si* 21 (wrongly filled out into *shī* 17) serving for 22, cf. the famous Piao-bell inscription: 23 = 24.

1861. Fu yung yüan nien t'ien wei 25.

A. PK'ung: »You (sc. Shao Kung) do not far-reachingly think of Heaven's majesty». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: this continues the preceding line: »(I dare not be tranquil in the mandate of God on High) nor fail to far-reachingly think of Heaven's majesty».

1862. Yüe wo min wang yu wei wei jen tsai wo hou si tsī sun 26.

A. PK'ung punctuates: *yüe wo min wang yu wei, wei jen tsai wo* etc. He renders *yüe* 27 by 28 'to move and reform' and takes the line as governed by the *fu* 29 'not' of the preceding: »You do not reform my people (so as to) have no faults or transgressions; (when) people *tsai* are among my succeeding sons and grandsons . . .». But *yüe* certainly can have no such meaning. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates: *yüe wo min wang yu wei, wei jen, tsai wo* etc., connecting the line with the preceding in a different way and taking *yüe* 27 = 30 »(I dare not fail to think of Heaven's majesty) in (a time when) our people have no fault-finding or disobedience (towards us); *tsai jen* it depends on men; (when the turn) is with our succeeding sons and grandsons . . .». The content of this is rather nonsensical. — C. Kiang Sheng points out that Han shu: Wang Mang chuan quotes: *wo si shī tsī sun* 31 etc., which would show

亂正刑 20. 聖 21. 通 22. 之 23. 乃 24. 或聖或否 25. 允若時 26. 則若時 27. 兄若時 28. 允 29. 不永念
厥辟 100. 辟 1. 罪 2. 辟 3. 法 4. 厥基永孚于休 5. 其基業長信於休美乎 6. 孚 7. 付 8. 殷之
始長付畀以慶者 9. 作周孚先 10. 祥 11. 詳 12. 道 13. 終 14. 崇 15. 君已曰時我 16. 已 17. 時 18. 是
19. 曰 20. 侍 21. 侍 22. 侍 23. 侍力 24. 侍力 25. 弗永遠念天威 26. 越我民罔允違惟人在我後嗣

that Wang punctuated after *tsai*. Kiang takes *yü e* 27 as a fault for 19 (they were homophonous and as particles interchangeable), and does not connect this line with the preceding: »I say that (when) our people have no faults or transgressions, *wei jen tsai* it is (because) there are men there» (i. e. I am in office). — D. Sun Yi-jang punctuates: *Yü e wo min, wang yu wei wei jen, tsai wo* etc., thus reverting to the ancient way of carrying *tsai* to the last line; in fact a Shu line: *tsai wo hou si tsí sun* »when (it rests with =) the turn comes to our succeeding sons and grandsons» could easily be quoted by Wang Mang, as an abbreviation, without the *tsai*. Sun connects with the preceding in yet another way, taking *yü e* 27 = 'and' (very common in Shu): »(I dare not fail to think of Heaven's majesty) and of my people; I do not *yu* find fault with and *wei* bear resentment against people (*wei* 32 = 30); when (the turn) is with our succeeding sons and grandsons . . .». For the first part he adduces a par. at the end of our chapter: 33 »I thereby exert myself for Heaven and the peoples», which is quite decisive. But the latter part is inadmissible: *Wei* 34 does not mean 35 'to bear resentment against'; and *wei* 32 is not = 30. — E. A combination of C (which is based on the earliest attested Han tradition) and D seems best: »(I dare not fail to far-reachingly think of Heaven's majesty) and of our people; that there are no faults or transgressions is because there are men there (i. e. I am in office); our succeeding sons and grandsons . . .».

1863. *Wo hou si tsí sun* 36.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »Our succeeding sons and grandsons» (Legge and Couvreur strangely take *tsí-sun* to mean descendant in the singular and to refer to Ch'eng Wang alone). — B. An earlier attested version (a memorial from Wang Mang's time ap. Han shu: Wang Mang chuan) read: *wo si shí tsí sun* 37. This would hardly mean, with Kiang Sheng: »Our sons and grandsons who succeed to the (management of) affairs», for if *si-shí* is really the original phrase, it is equal to 38 »Our sons and grandsons who will manage the affairs». In the bronze inscriptions we constantly have *si* 39 = 40 in such combinations, e. g. 41 »to direct the divination affairs» in the Hu Ting inscr. (K'ia chai 4: 21). — After all the Ku-wen-version A seems preferable, since it agrees better with the praxis in the Shu. We had in Tsiu kao: *tsai kin hou si wang* 42 »their (succeeding king =) successor in our time» and the same phr. in To shí. Evidently *hou-si* was a standing binome.

1864. *Ngo yi ts'ien jen kuang* 43.

A. This is PK'ung's version acc. to the current editions: »to (stop) make an end to and neglect the glory of the former men». — B. A memorial from Wang Mang's time (ap. Han shu: Wang Mang chuan) quotes *ngo shí* 44 »to (stop =) make an end to and lose the glory of the former men». It has been argued that 45 is here only a short-form for *yi* 46; but in fact *shí* 45 balances better the preceding *ngo* than *yi* 46 does, and this latter may just as well be an erroneous filling-out of a primary *shí* 45. No reason to abandon the oldest version attested (B). Moreover, since PK'ung paraphrases the first two words by *tsü e shí* 47, it is quite possible that his text really had *shí* 45 and that the enlargement into *yi* 46 has taken place after his time (in any case before T'ang time, since Shi-wen reads *yi*).

1865. *Tsai kia pu chí* 48.

A. PK'ung takes this to make one line, connecting with the preceding: »(If our succeeding sons and grandsons . . . lose the glory of the former men), being in the house (i. e. in retirement), I shall not know about it». Ts'ai Ch'en turns it differently, as a rhetorical question referring to Shao Kung: »(Can you) being in your house (i. e. in retirement) (allege that) you do not know about it?» — B. Yen Shí-ku (T'ang time) reads the last four words together with the following line: *tsai kia pu chí t'ien ming pu yi* 49: »In their house they do not understand that Heaven's mandate is not easy». The

weak point here is that *tsai kia* »in their house» makes poor sense. Chuang Shu-tsu therefore carries that to the preceding line: »(They make an end to and lose the former men's glory) over the house, and do not understand that Heaven's mandate is not easy». This is confirmed by a following line which is somewhat analogous, having after *kuang* a phrase telling where that »glory» is applied: 50, see Gl. 1865 c.

T'ien nan shen see Gl. 1609.

1865 b. *Fu k'o king li si ts'ien jen kung ming tê* 51.

A. PK'ung punctuates: *fu k'o king li, si ts'ien jen, kung ming tê*, taking the last clause together with the following *tsai kin yü siao tsī tan* 52: »They cannot (pass on and pass through =) go on for long; to succeed to the former men, and to reverence their bright virtue, (for this) at present (there is) I, youngster Tan» (in the current editions PK'ung's gloss has been vitiated by an inversion of *tsai kin wo* 53 into *tsai wo kin* 54, which makes a quite different sense; corrected by Yüan Yüan). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en connects with the preceding line: »(They ruin their mandate), not being able *king li* (passing on =) at length to continue the former men's respectful and bright virtue». — C. Kiang Sheng carries only the two words *tsai kin* to the preceding: »They cannot go on for long; to succeed to the former men, and to reverence their bright virtue *tsai kin* (depends on now =) is the duty now; (I, youngster Tan...)». — D. Sun Yi-jang would take *king li* 55 as a transitive verb: »They cannot *king li* practise and *si* continue the former men's respectful and bright virtue». *King* 56 we have in the sense of 'to plan, to arrange' in the Odes etc. For *li* 57 Sun adduces the Kuangya definition *li* = 58, but that does not mean the transitive *hing* 'to practise' but the intransitive 'to walk (pass on)'. D thus remains unsubstantiated. — E. Tuan Yü-ts'ai: *kung* 59, as usual, is a »correction» made by Wei Pao in T'ang time of an original 60 which really had the sense of 61 (cf. Gl. 1401). This is certainly right, and with slight modifications of B we translate: »They will not be able at length to succeed to the former men and to (furnish =) accomplish their bright virtue».

1865 c. *Fei k'o yu cheng ti wei ts'ien jen kuang shī yü wo ch'ung tsī* 62.

A. PK'ung punctuates: *fei k'o yu cheng, ti wei ts'ien jen kuang, shī yü wo ch'ung tsī*: »I cannot do any correcting, what I *ti* walk in is the former men's glorious (path), and I hand over (my mode of governing) to the young son» (i. e. Ch'eng Wang). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »I cannot do any correcting; *ti* in guiding, it is the former men's glory that I hand over to the young son». — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen take *ti* = 'to guide' = 'to lead forward': »I bring forward the former men's glory». Sun further says that 63 should not be read *shī* but *yī* = 64, as in Ode 241, phr. 65 »It (extended =) reached to his grandsons and sons». This latter is quite convincing. — D. Another interpr., in part only following C. A more natural construction is this: *fei k'o yu cheng ti, wei ts'ien jen kuang yi yü wo ch'ung tsī*: »I cannot have a correct (walk =) conduct; it is the glory of the former men that (extends =) reaches to the young son (i. e. Ch'eng Wang)».

子孫²⁷越²⁸勳²⁹化³⁰第³¹于³²我嗣事子孫³³惟³⁴于³⁵惟用関于天越民³⁶達³⁷怨³⁸我
後嗣子孫³⁹我嗣事子孫⁴⁰司事⁴¹嗣⁴²司⁴³嗣卜事⁴⁴在今後嗣王⁴⁵遇⁴⁶供前⁴⁷人光⁴⁸
遇失⁴⁹失⁵⁰供⁵¹絕⁵²失⁵³在家不知⁵⁴在家不知天命不易⁵⁵惟前⁵⁶人光⁵⁷施于我冲子⁵⁸
弗克經歷⁵⁹嗣前⁶⁰人恭明德⁶¹在今于小子旦⁶²在今我⁶³在我今⁶⁴經歷⁶⁵經⁶⁶歷⁶⁷行⁶⁸
恭⁶⁹共⁷⁰供⁷¹弗克有正⁷²惟前⁷³人光⁷⁴施于我冲子⁷⁵施⁷⁶延⁷⁷施于孫子⁷⁸我道惟

1866. *Wo tao wei ning wang tê yen 66.*

A. PK'ung: »We by right principles (will observe) the Serene King's (Wen Wang's) virtue, (in order to) prolong it«. Unreconcilable with the text. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Our proper path is to prolong the Serene King's virtue«. This is impossible, unless we construe *yen* in the passive: »Our proper path is that the Serene King's virtue is prolonged«. — C. Kiang Sheng: *tao 67* is = 'to speak': »I speak of the Serene King's virtue (in order to) prolong it«. — D. Sun Sing-yen: *tao* here is equal to *68*. This binome occurs in *Shu*: *Ku ming: tao yang mo ming 69*, which PK'ung explains as = »He spoke and manifested his last will«. But in fact *tao 67* is here a short-form for *tao 70* 'to guide, lead forward', as already recognized in Han time: *Pan Ku in Han shu: Sü chuan* cites this as *mo ming tao yang 71* »The last will was advanced and manifested«. Thus here again *tao 67* is a short-form for *70* 'to guide' = 'to bring forward': »I bring forward the Serene King's virtue and *yen* extend it«. — E. Wang Yin-chi has a curious speculation. The *Shiwen* says that *Ma Jung's* version had not *wo tao 72* but *wo ti 73*. This *ti 74* is a mere »particle«, but it was wrongly understood as meaning *tao*, and therefore in *Tsin* time the text was altered into *wo tao*. A very arbitrary theory. — F. Chuang Shu-tsu, realizing that the *yen* cannot be an independent verb, hanged on to the preceding line (as in ACD), boldly takes *tê 75 (*tak)* as a loan char. for the homophonous *tê 76*: »I have (spoken =) prayed for that (the mandate of) the Serene King *tê 76* should be allowed to *yen* be extended«. — G. Another interpr. *Shiwen's* note gives us *Ma Jung's* text *wo ti 73* as the oldest version extant, and this, of course, should be followed. All the more since it corresponds closely to the *ti 74* of the preceding line. There we had »I cannot have a correct *ti* (walk =) conduct; it is the glory of the former men that extends to the young son«. Now again *Chou Kung* embroiders upon the same idea: »*Wo ti my (walk =) conduct (is only that =) only means that the Serene Kings' virtue is (prolonged =) continued*« (i. e. I have no merit myself, being only a transmittor). Thus the two lines balance each other beautifully. The modified version with *tao* comes to much the same sense: »My path (is only that =) only means that...«.

1867. *T'ien pu yung shi yü Wen Wang shou ming 77.*

A. PK'ung renders *shi 78* by *fei 79* 'reject, throw away, annul' and *Ts'ai Ch'en*, foll. by *Kiang Sheng* and *Sun Sing-yen*, explains it by *shê 80* 'to give up, to dispense with, put away, take off'. Indeed *shi* in this sense is very common (e. g. *Tso passim*; *Shu: Ku ming 81* »The king took off his cap«). Thus: »Heaven does not therefore (put away =) annul the mandate received by *Wen Wang*«. A difficulty presents itself here in the preposition *yü 82*; in fact *shi 78* in this sense is regularly construed as a transitive verb with a direct object, and there should be no *yü*. The correct construction occurs in *To fang: fei t'ien yung shi yü Hia 83* »It was not that Heaven thus did away with the lords of *Hia*«, and it seems possible that this *yü* here is a text corruption. If not, we must construe: »Heaven does not therefore *shi* make an annulment *yü* in regard to the mandate« etc., which practically comes to the same. — B. *Yü Sing-wu: 78* stands for *84*: »Heaven does not therefore *yi 84* become (fed up with =) tired of the mandate given to *Wen Wang*«. The same awkwardness in regard to the prep. *yü* as in A above. — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

1868. *Ko yü huang t'ien 85.*

A. The ordinary and universally accepted interpr. is: *ko 86 = chi 87* 'to reach, attain to' (very common): »He attained to august Heaven«. — B. The *Kin-wen* version (ap. *Sî-ma Ts'ien*) here as always has *88 *kã / ka / kia* 'to arrive, to reach' inst. of the synonymous *86 *klūk / kvk / ko* of the *Ku-wen* version, and *Yü Sing-wu* now proposes that this *kia 88* is the proper reading but not in the sense of 'to reach' but as a loan char. for *89 (*ka / ka / kia)*, **kã* thus serving for a **ka*: »He was lucky with Heaven«. *Yü* would

interpret a long row of Shu examples with *k o* 86 in this way: 86 = 88 = 89. There is no single sure par. where 86 is unambiguously a loan char. with this sense.

1869. Wu Hien yi wang kia 90.

A. «Wu Hien directed the royal house». The name form Wu Hien 91 occurs in Si-ma Ts'ien (Yen shī kia) and various Han texts, and we already have it so in Chuang: T'ien yün and in Ch'u ts'ī. — **B.** In Po hu t'ung: Tê lun the context shows that the author had a text which read, not Wu Hien but W u M o u 92, with the common cyclical char. as personal name. Wang Yin-chī argues that this should be the correct form, since we know that the «heavenly stems» were used for personal names in Yin time. This would necessitate the conclusion that all those early texts having Hien either were erroneous or have had a Mou which later has been «corrected» into Hien — both very improbable. Chang Ping-lin points out that the char. m o u in Han time had a variant 93, very similar to h i e n, and a Hien could therefore just as well be misread Mou as *vice versa*. In the next line we have another person W u H i e n 94, likewise of Yin time, whose name was not a cyclical char. There is thus no sufficient reason for Wang Yin-chī's emendation.

1870. Shuai wei tsī yu ch'en 95.

A. PK'ung: «They followed this (path) and had a conspicuous (merit)», followed by Ts'ai Ch'en (Couvreur: «sequentes illud, habuerunt exhibenda [merita]»; Legge translates curiously: «In accordance with this they had an arrangement»). — **B.** Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen both take shuai as a «particle» (declined in our Gl. 1406), but for the rest differ. Kiang: wei tsī these (ministers) yu ch'en had conspicuous (merits). Sun: ch'en 96 = 97: «These (men) who had the (proper) path». — **C.** Another interpr. Shuai 98, as often, means «all» (see Gl. 642): «All these (had display =) were illustrious», cf. Tso: Ai 5, phr. 99 «He always had displayed a minister's chariot and garments in his courtyard».

1871. Yin li chī p'ei t'ien 100.

A. PK'ung has no proper gloss, but K'ung Ying-ta explains: «Yin's ceremonies (in pacifying those above and governing the people) could rise and be a counterpart of Heaven», thus taking li as the subject of the clause. The meaning is somewhat nonsensical. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en in his paraphrase simply skips the inconvenient li, and later expounders therefore have to add that as an adverbial phrase: «(The kings of) Yin li in the rites chī having ascended (i. e. died) p'ei t'ien were counterparts of Heaven». If so, we should expect the sequence: Yin chī li p'ei t'ien. Yü Yüe therefore modifies this interpr. by taking Yin in the genitive: «In the Yin rites, chī when they (sc. the kings) died, they were counterparts of Heaven» (i. e. were called Ti 1, whereas when living they were called Wang 2). — **C.** Kiang Sheng: «Yin's (rites =) sacrifices (i. e. the sacrifices to the dead Yin kings) rose high and matched (those to) Heaven». — **B** in Yü's modified interpr. is best, because chī 'to ascend' was a technical term for the death of rulers, see Gl. 1294.

寧王德延 67 道 68 道揚 69 道揚末命 70 導 71 末命導揚 72 我道 73 我迪 74 迪 75 德 76 得 77
天不用釋于文王受命 78 釋 79 廢 80 捨 81 王釋冕 82 于 83 非天用釋有夏 84 數 85 格于皇
天 86 格 87 至 88 假 89 嘉 90 丕咸乂王家 91 丕咸 92 丕戊 93 成 94 丕賢 95 率惟法有陳 96 陳
97 道 98 率 99 常陳卿之車服於其庭 100 殷禮陟配天 1. 帝 2. 王 3. 多歷年所 4 所 5 許 6.

1872. To li nien so (hü) 3.

The ancient and medieval comm. say nothing of the curious last word.

A. The editors of the *Ji kiang shu king kie yi* (1680 A. D.) say that 4 is a 'particle', and Legge, following this, simply skips it. — B. Couvreur defines it as = 'quantity': 'They (sc. the kings of Yin) passed through a great quantity of years'. This is certainly right. It is probable, however, that in this sense 4 should not have its ordinary reading **ʃi*o / *ʃi*wo / s o, but **xi*o / *xi*wo / h ü, being merely a variant of 5 **xi*o / *xi*wo / h ü. We saw in Gl. 417 that Ode 165 fa m u h u h u 6 (5 here **xo* / *xuo* / h u) is quoted in *Shuowen* 7 (4 here in all probability read **xo* / *xuo* / h u as well, having 8 **g'o* as phonetic), and we have the same interchange of the characters 5 and 4 in Han time, when it comes to the meaning 'quantity': Han shu: Su Kuang chuan has 9 for the ordinary 10 'how much'; *Shi ki*: Hiao Wu ki 11 'I do not know how great number of people' = Hou Han shu: Yi min chuan 12, same meaning.

T'ien wei ch'un yu ming — for ch'un 13 = 'great', not, with Ts'ai Ch'en, 'unmixed, pure', see Gl. 1078.

1873. Tsê Shang shi po sing wang jen wang pu ping tê 14.

A. PK'ung, punctuating after sing, has a free paraphrase: '«(Heaven) caused the Shang-house's people to be (rich and full =) opulent; and of the royal men [the kings] there were none who did not hold on to the virtue». The first line of this is not reconcilable with the text: if shang is the name, it must be subject here: 'Then Shang enriched the people; and of the royal etc.' — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after shi: 'Then Shang was replenished (sc. with men); and of po sing the dignitaries and wang jen the king's (lower) officers, there were none who did not hold on to the virtue.' — C. Kiang Sheng takes tsê 15 as a verb = 'to classify': 'It (Heaven) classified in Shang, and enriched po sing the dignitaries [of different clans from the royal house] and the wang jen dignitaries [of the royal clan] and there were none' etc. — D. Sun Sing-yen carries tsê 15 to the preceding line 16 T'ien wei ch'un yu ming tsê 'Heaven grandly supported the mandate for (the norms =) the men who were models', a hopeless attempt. But for the rest Sun has a proposal worth considering. In Shang shi po sing etc. he says shi 17 is the demonstrative pronoun = 18, thus: 'Of Shang's those dignitaries' etc. It should be observed, however, that the royal house in our *Kün Shi* chapter is mentioned 8 times under the name Yin and not once called Shang; we should have to modify Sun's interpr. in taking Shang as the name of the city (ta yi Shang 'the great city Shang'): 'Of those dignitaries and royal henchmen in Shang there were none who did not' etc. This is very tempting. But though shi 17 as the demonstrative pronoun occurs several times in the Odes (e. g. Ode 245) and frequently in Tso, there is not a single other example of it in the Shu, which makes this interpr. doubtful. — E. Wang Yin-chi would consider shi as an empty 'particle' simply to be skipped, (cf. Lü hing below), but this is an arbitrary and unsupported speculation. — F. Wang Sien-k'ien quotes a stone inscription from Han time (Fan Yi siu si yüe miao pei in the *Ku wen yüan*) 19, and concludes that the Kin-wen school punctuated after yu: t'ien wei ch'un yu, ming tsê shang 20, shi po sing: 'Heaven greatly supported (them), and ordered (the world) to take as pattern the Shang, and they enriched the dignitaries' etc. A very strained meaning. — G. Liu Feng-lu: 21 **d'iet* / *dé'iet* / shi is loan char. for 22 **siét* / *siét* / shi, thus: 'Then, of the royal house, the dignitaries' etc. A phonetically unlikely loan theory. — H. Another interpr. The line, logically following up the preceding, praises, not the dignitaries but the royal house itself. Shi 21, with A above (based on *Shuowen* 21 = 23), means 'wealth', here as a verb: 'to make wealthy, to enrich'. Cf. Tso: Wen 18, in a passage which is evidently a quotation from an earlier Shu-king-like text: 24 'He accumulated hoards of wealth'; Li: Ai Kung wen 25 'They

(the princes) love riches without satiety»; Li: Piao ki 26 »They were ashamed of expenses, and despised riches». Sh a n g 27 here, as in some bronze inscriptions, means 'to bestow a gift, to endow' (e. g. the famous Nie Ling Kuei inscr. 28 »Lady Kiang endowed Ling with cowries, ten double-strings», Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 6 :11). It is then in fact a loan char. for sh a n g 29 'to give', which is very common indeed in bronze inscriptions. We thus have here a binome of two analogous verbs: sh a n g 'to endow' and sh i 'to enrich', a natural and convincing combination: »(Heaven greatly supported their mandate), and so they endowed and enriched the people; of the (royal men =) men of the royal line there were none who did not hold on to the virtue». — We should observe here:

Shu: Lü hing: Y ü e sh i k 'i tsuei 30.

A. PK'ung: »One examines and verifies the crimes». — B. Wang Yin-chi: sh i is a »particle» (cf. above) simply to be skipped and y ü e stands for 31 in the reading t 'o (= 32): »One takes off their guilt». There is no reason to alter the good binome y ü e sh i, which consists of two analogous verbs 'examine and verify'.

1874. Mingsü siao ch'en p'ing hou tien shen hien pent sou 33.

A. PK'ung in this way carries ming sü to the following, and takes the preceding wang jen 34 as subject: »They enlightenedly cared about the smaller (servants =) officers who guarded the hou and tien dominions — how much the more then did all (hurry about =) work eagerly.» For the construction siao ch'en p'ing... »the smaller officers who guarded» (p'ing = p'ing ch'ê 35), see Gl. 1714. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en carries ming sü to the preceding: »(there were none who did not hold on to the virtue and) enlightenedly care about (sc. the government); and the petty officers and (those who) guarded the hou and tien dominions, how much the more did they all (hurry about =) work eagerly». Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen have accepted this, only deviating in declaring that shen 36 does not mean k'uang 37 'how much the more' (its ordinary meaning) but is a »particle», simply to be skipped; this is because Shuowen alternatively defines shen (38) as = 39 'a grammatical word' (40), a highly insufficient reason (Tuan Yü-ts'ai moreover is certainly right in correcting the Shuowen text into 41 »a grammatical word meaning all the more»). — It is a weakness in B that sü 42 stands without expressed object. Moreover, both in this and the preceding line it makes much better sense to take (with A) the Yin kings as subject — the whole passage is in their praise.

1875. Weitsi weitê ch'eng yung yi küepi 43.

A. PK'ung carries weitsi 44 to the preceding, and takes yi 45 (= 46) as = 47 'to govern' (as often): »(how much the more then did all [hurry about =] work eagerly) weitsi on this; weitê only the virtuous ch'eng yung were (lifted =) promoted and employed, and they governed their prince's (affairs)». The last line here is entirely unsatisfactory. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »weitsi because of this weitê ch'eng only virtue they (raised =) set forth, and thus (governed =) guided their prince». — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen: »Weitsi these (various officers) only set forth virtue

代木許許?代木所所 8.戶 9.幾所 10.幾許 11.不知何所人 12.不知何許人 13.純 14.則商
實百姓王人罔不秉德 15.則 16.天惟純佑命則 17.實 18.是 19.天惟純佑 20.命則商 21.實 22.
室 23.富 24.聚斂積實 25.好實無厭 26.恥費輕實 27.商 28.姜商令日十朋 29.商 30.閱實其罪
31.說 32.脫 33.明恤小臣屏侯甸矧咸奔走 34.王人 35.屏者 36.矧 37.況 38.矣 39.詞 40.況也詞
也 41.況詞也 42.恤 43.惟茲惟德編用又厥辟 44.惟茲 45.又 46.艾 47.治 48.相 49.率惟茲有陳

and thus aided their prince». Erya: Shī ku says y i 46 = 48 'to assist', but there are no text ex. with this meaning: it is only a free extension from 'to govern, regulate = to guide = to assist'. — D. It seems evident that our line here brings us back to the principal theme of the great ministers who directed the Yin kings so successfully. It is a close parallel to the preceding 49 (see Gl. 1870): »All these (ministers) (had display =) were illustrious, they protected and directed the lords of Yin». Here we have similarly: »As to these (said ministers), their virtue was set forth, and thus they directed their princes». For t ê ch'eng, cf. Lo kao 50 »You, prince, set forth the greatly illustrious virtue»; and later in our chapter: 51 »They grandly and exhaustively set forth the virtue» (Legge, after Ts'ai Ch'en: »[the people] universally and greatly proclaimed his virtue», which totally misses the Shu parallels).

1876. Ku y i j e n y u s h i y ū s i f a n g j o p u s h i w a n g p u s h i f u 52.

A. PK'ung as followed by K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en: »Therefore, when the One Man had business in the (lands of) the four quarters, it was like tortoise or milfoil oracles, there were none who did not s h i approve and f u trust him» — he was as implicitly believed as an oracle. — B. Wang Pao 53 (1st c. B. C. in Wen sūan: Sī tsī kiang tē lun) quotes: 54. In Chou script one and the same char. was used for both 55 and 56 (see Grammata, nr. 971, 975), so that the Han transcribers must have hesitated: some transcribed it 55 (A above), some 56 (B here). Yü Sing-wu believes that the latter is correct: »When the One Man had embassies in the four quarters». But parallelism with the following (cf. C below) on the contrary confirms that 55 is the correct deciphering. The meaning of t i in the B version is very obscure. — C. Another interpr. In the A version there is parallelism between y u s h i 58 and p u s h i 59, and they are combined by j o 60 which simply means »and, or», as in Shao kao 61 »extol the king and your Grace». P u s h i 'to take tortoise and milfoil oracle' is one of the sacred functions of the king, and since y u s h i very often means 'to have a (sacrificial) performance' (see Gl. 1756, 1765), it is obvious through the parallelism that this is the sense here: »Therefore, when the One Man had (sacrificial) performances in the four quarters and when he took tortoise and milfoil oracles, there were none who did not have confidence in him». The sacrifices »in the four quarters» refers to his inspection tours with sacrifices on the sacred mountains, one of the king's most sacred duties. The whole world had confidence in his power to secure the grace of the gods.

1877. T'ien shou p'ing ko, pao yi yu Yin 62.

A. PK'ung refers this to the kings: »Heaven makes long-lived the just and (arrived =) perfected (kings) and they (the kings) pao yi gave peace and good government to their Yin state». PK'ung paraphrases p'ing ko 63 by 64, and ch i 65 'arrived' = 'perfected' is a common definition in the early commentary literature (cf. Gl. 1489 above). — B. Cheng Hūan, on the contrary, refers it to the famous ministers, Yi Yin etc., and defines k o 66 as = 67 »attaining to Heaven», which directly refers to the phr. 68 »who attained to august Heaven» (said of Yi Yin) a few lines earlier. If we take s h o u as a verb, like A, we then obtain (with Kiang Sheng): »Heaven made long-lived those who were just and attained (sc. to Heaven), they protected and directed the lords of Yin». The latter, in any case, is right, since it merely repeats an earlier unambiguous line. As to the former half, it must be said to be strained to take k o 66 'to attain' alone, without object, as an adjective meaning 'attaining' (to Heaven), in spite of the parallel earlier in the chapter. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en takes k o 66 as = »penetrating, perspicacious, intelligent, to comprehend» (a well-attested meaning, see Gl. 1481, 1590): »Heaven made long-lived the just and intelligent (ministers)» etc. — D. Sun Sing-yen: s h o u 69 is defined as = 70 'long time' in Kuangya (Shuowen has the same, a gloss based on sound similarity 69 *d̥iōg: 70 *k̥iūg). P' i n g 71 is short for 72 'to cause', and the line is one clause: »Heaven

shou for a long time p'eng caused the (to Heaven) attaining (sc. ministers) to protect the lords of Yin. But shou never means anything but 'long life', it can never serve as an adverb meaning 'for a long time'. — E. Sun Yi-jang coördinates shou, p'ing and ko as three transitive verbs: »Heaven made (them sc. the ministers) long-lived, peaceful and perfected». — F. Liu Feng-lu objects to the construction with shou as a transitive verb, which is, in fact, very strained; he interprets: »The just and (to Heaven) attaining ones, with t'ien shou a (heavenly longevity =) a longevity equal to that of Heaven, protected and directed the lords of Yin». — G. Yü Sing-wu similarly takes t'ien shou as an adjective with its principal word, but says t'ien is really synonymous with ta 73 'great'; p'ing 71 stands for feng 74 and ko 66 stands for kia 75, thus: »Those with a great longevity and an abundant felicity protected and directed the lords of Yin». A much too bold operating with phonetically unsound loan speculations (63 *b'jeng: 74 *p'jōng; 66 *klāk: 75 *kā). — H. Another interpr. F is certainly right that t'ien is merely an attribute to shou. But just as we frequently (e. g. in Tso) have t'ien tsai 76 »Disaster coming from Heaven», t'ien hui 77 'blessings given by Heaven', t'ien fu 78 'felicity given by Heaven', so our t'ien shou simply means 'long life given by Heaven'. As to p'ing ko, C is certainly most natural: »With long lives given by Heaven, just and (penetrating =) intelligent, they (the ministers) protected and directed the lords of Yin». For p'ing 71 = 'just', said of leading statesmen, cf. Ode 191, in which the Grand Master Yin is called 79 'not just, iniquitous'.

1878. Yu Yin si t'ien mie wei 79.

A. PK'ung punctuates: Yu Yin si, t'ien mie wei: »Yin's (last) successor, Heaven destroyed him and overawed him». — B. Sun Sing-yen punctuates: yu Yin si t'ien, mie wei. And he refers to Erya: Shī yen which has an entry wei 80 = 81 'majesty' (dignified demeanour) = 'pattern, model', a free extension of meaning. Thus: »The lord of Yin who has succeeded to (the mandate of) Heaven, has destroyed the (majesty =) model-giving demeanour». Wang Yin-chi had a similar idea, but, following Kuangya, defined wei 80 as = 82: »... he destroyed the virtue». The combination si t'ien is very forced. — C. Yü Sing-wu: mie 83 stands for 84 'to despise', and a second t'ien between mie and wei must have been lost: »The lord of Yin who has succeeded to Heaven, mie [t'ien] wei despised Heaven's majesty; with alterations like that, anything could be proved.

1879. Shang ti ko shen k'üan Ning wang chī tē 85.

A. This is PK'ung's version, and he punctuates after ko: »God on High (cut off =) decided, and (repeatedly =) anew encouraged the Serene King's virtue». Ts'ai Ch'en modifies this into: »God on High cut off (Yin), and anew» etc. Cheng Huan, however, who in comm. on Li (see B below) says that A is the Ku-wen version and that it is preferable to B and C, takes ko 86 *kāt as loan char. for 87 *kād 'namely', an adverb hardly to be translated here, a very unsafe speculation. — B. Another version, ap. Li: Tsi yi, reads 88 »God on High in the fields of Chou observed Wen Wang's virtue». Since the Li ki

保又有殷50公稱丕顯德51丕單稱德52故一人有事于四方若卜筮罔不是孚53王遂
54迪一人使四方55事56使57迪58有事59卜筮60若61旅王若公62天壽平格保又有
殷63平格64平至之君65至66格67至于天68格于皇天69壽70久71平72擇73大74暨
75報76天災77天休78天福79有殷嗣天滅威80威81則82德83滅84災85上帝割申勸
寧王之德86割87蓋88上帝周田觀文王之德89害90周91圉92圉93田94申95霍96勸

was collected in W. Han time, and this line has not been altered and «corrected» in accordance with the Ku-wen, we may take it for sure that it represents the text tradition of an early Han school, and thus is the earliest text available. In the Ku-wen version, *k o 86*, written in Chou fashion without radical, would be *h a i 89*, and the Chou-time graphs for *h a i* and *c h o u 90* were very similar and easily confused: *91* and *92*; that *t' i e n 93* and *s h e n 94* were likewise easily confused is obvious, and the Chou-time text having originally *95* without radical, it could be filled out into *96* or *97 adlibitum*. It is thus easily understood how either a correct A: *98* has been corrupted, by early Han scribes, into B: *99*, or how a correct B: *99* has been corrupted into A: *98*. — C. Cheng Hsüan mentions that «the doctors of his time» had yet a third reading: *100*, whatever that may mean. It is unexplainable how this could stand to either the A or the B version, and it is certainly inferior to both, as well in age as in sense. — D. Yü Sing-wu takes *k o 86* as = *89 = 1* and *s h e n 94* as a corruption of *y u 2*: «God on High *h o - y u* whereby did he see Wen Wang's virtue?» It is difficult to see how this could suit the context. — The oldest attested version (B) is also the simplest and most natural. It might seem curious that Good saw Wen Wang's virtue «in Chou's fields» *93*, but this refers directly to the closely connected chapter Wu yi: «Wen Wang was humble and submissive, he applied himself to peaceful achievements and to agricultural achievements 3». This detail strongly supports version B here.

1880. *W u n e n g w a n g l a i t s i t i y i k i a o W e n W a n g m i e t ê k i a n g y ü k u o j e n 4.*

A. PK'ung believes that the first 4 words are a quotation of an utterance of Wen Wang's. He takes *t i 5* as a noun = *6* 'the path'; *m i e 7* = 'small, subtle' (this latter after Cheng Hsüan): «(Wen Wang said:) I have none to come and go (on my errands, sc. in spite of his having those 5 fine men); by this path and law they taught Wen Wang the (small, fine =) subtle virtue, (so as to) send down (his commands) to the state's people». As support for the meaning 'small, subtle' of *m i e 7* Wang Ming-sheng has adduced Yi Chou shu: Chai kung *8* «I learn from the subtleness of Wen and Wu», an unsafe par., since *m i e* here is just as obscure as in our Shu passage. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *t i 5* is a verb = *9* 'to guide, lead forward, bring forward' (common) and *m i e 7* is the negation 'not': «If they had not gone and come (on the king's errands) and *t s i* here *t i* brought forward the *y i k i a o* normative teachings, Wen Wang *m i e t ê* would have had no virtue to descend on the state's people». For *m i e* in the sense of *10* 'not have' cf. e. g. Tso: Siang 39, phr. *11* «it will have nothing to add to this». — C. Kiang Sheng believes that the first 4 words were uttered by the great ministers: «(They said:) We are not capable of going and coming (on the king's errands); and (here =) after that they brought forward the normative teachings, and Wen Wang's subtle virtue descended to the state's people». Sun Sing-yen has a curious speculation that *w u n e n g w a n g l a i* would be equal to *12*, which would mean: «We are not capable of promoting (the good) and discharging (the bad)». — D. Sun -Yi-jang takes the preceding two words *13* («again he said») as meaning *14*: «There are such who say: we are unable etc.», and this would refer, not to the great ministers mentioned before, but to other less prominent men. — E. Chang Ping-lin: *t s i 15* = *16* (as short-form for *17*); and *y u y ü e 13* = *14*: «There are such who say: He (sc. Wen Wang) was not able to (go and come =) attend to the affairs; he (only) *t s i* evermore brought forward the normative teachings (i. e. he only talked), but Wen Wang had no virtue to descend on the state's people» (i. e. all was done by the ministers). It would be strange indeed, if Wen Wang were the subject of the whole passage, that he is introduced only in the last clause. — F. Yü Sing-wu: originally there must have been: *W e n W a n g w e i t ê 18*. «Wen Wang's majestic virtues». *W e i 19* was corrupted into the similar *m i e 20*, and for this, again, one introduced a loan char. *m i e 7* as in Ode 254 (Gl. 930).

— Of all these attempts, the only reasonable one is B, which need not be rejected simply because it is the orthodox interpr.

1881. Yi wei ch'un yu ping tê ti ch'i t'ien wei 21.

A. PK'ung punctuates after yu: »(He, sc. Wen Wang) also was grandly assisted (by Heaven); he held on to the virtue and ti walked in the path of and ch'i understood Heaven's majesty». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en and Kiang Sheng, who rightly realize that the line must refer to the good ministers, turn it differently: »He (Wen Wang) also was greatly assisted (by Heaven) with (ministers who) held on to the virtue, and walked . . .». — C. Sun Sing-yen: »The ch'un yu grandly assisting and ping tê the virtue-holding (ministers) advanced and understood the majesty of Heaven». This takes yi 22 as an introductory particle without meaning, which in itself is quite plausible. — D. It is better, however, to let yi 22 connect the line with the preceding, which praised the good ministers — this is, after all, the principal theme all through this section — and take them as subject in this clause as well: »They also grandly helped him to hold on to the virtue, and ti led him forward to understand Heaven's majesty».

Nai wei shi chao Wen Wang ti kien mao wen yü Shang ti see Gl. 1624.

1882. Wu wang wei ts'i si jen shang ti yu lu 23.

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en both render shang 24 with 25 'would that, it is to be hoped that', which makes no sense here. Legge therefore rightly takes it = 'still' (very common): »(As to) Wu wang, (these four men =) four of these men still led him forward to have the emoluments (sc. of the royal mandate)». It is, however, not convincing that the term yu lu 'to have emoluments' would be used about the king; it regularly means the emoluments given to dignitaries and officials, who were subjects and obtained emoluments. — B. Sun Sing-yen: ti 5 has yu 26 as phonetic, and is probably but a variant for this; yu 26 stands for 27, so that shang ti 28 = shang yu 29 is a binome 'still, encore', an unnecessary speculation. — C. P'i Si-juei: the term pu lu 30 means 'to die' (ex. in Kyü: Tsin yü and Li: K'ü li) and hence yu lu should mean »were alive». This is true, but when the death of a grandee or noble is called pu lu it really is a metaphor: 'not to have his emoluments', finish his office. Yu lu then will have the same double meaning: »(Under) Wu Wang, (these four men =) four of these men still advanced and had their emoluments» (i. e. were alive and in office).

1883. Hien liu küe ti 31.

A. PK'ung: hien 32 = 'all' (as usual): »they killed all his enemies» (for liu = 'to kill' see Gl. 1107). — B. Kiang Sheng: hien = 'everywhere'. — C. Wang Yin-chi and Sun Sing-yen: hien 32 is a short-form for kien 33 'to reduce' in the sense of 'to destroy', and kien liu is a binome. An unnecessary speculation, since the ancient interpr. is quite simple and satisfactory.

Chao Wu Wang wei mao p'ei tu ch'eng tê see Gl. 1624 (for the last words cf. Gl. 1875).

97. 觀 98. 割申勸 99. 周田觀 100. 上帝厥亂勸寧王之德 1. 昌 2. 由 3. 田功 4. 無能住來茲迪
 舜教文王冀德降于國人 5. 迪 6. 道 7. 蔑 8. 聖於文武之蔑 9. 尊 10. 無 11. 其蔑以加於此
 12. 無能進退 13. 又曰 14. 有曰 15. 茲 16. 多 17. 滋 18. 文王威德 19. 威 20. 威 21. 亦惟純佑秉德迪
 知天威 22. 亦 23. 武王惟茲四人尚迪有祿 24. 尚 25. 庶幾 26. 由 27. 猶 28. 尚迪 29. 尚猶 30. 不祿

1884. Yü wang ki ju Shi k' i tsi 34.

A. PK'ung: »I shall go and together with you, Shi, cross it«. — B. Legge cites another comm. which takes wang = 35 »I from now on shall together with . . .«, which certainly is no improvement.

1885. Siao tsi t'ung wei tsai wei 36.

A. PK'ung: »The small child (i. e. the king) is t'ung just as when he was not yet in the high position« (i. e. weak and inexperienced). This has been generally accepted. — B. Sun Yi-jang. In the preceding line, Chou Kung says: »Now it rests: with me siao tsi Tan 37 the small child Tan.« It is highly unreasonable that the same phr. siao tsi 'small child' would now mean the young king — referring to two different persons in two consecutive lines. So far Sun is obviously right. But then he says: »colleagues« are called t'ung wei 38. Hence »t'ung wei tsai wei 39« should mean »new colleagues who have not formerly had high positions«. An absurd idea. Our line simply means: »(I), small child, t'ung am just the same as when not yet in the high position«, sc. regent. (Wang Sien-k'ien's interpr.: »I am equal to such who are not in the high position« seems less convincing). For still another theory see Gl. 1886 H.

1886. Tan wu wo tsê shou wang hü pu ki 40.

A. PK'ung punctuates after tsê: »Greatly do not blame me (sc. for remaining in office); we shall shou gather in (for instruction) (such who) do not make efforts and do not attain (the proper norms)«. A hopeless interpr. Ts'ai Ch'en says that he does not understand the passage. — B. Lü Tsu-k'ien, who maintains that Chou Kung here exhorts Shao Kung that the latter should not retire (see Gl. 1860), interprets: »Greatly do not lay the burden on me; if you shou (settle up, finish =) retire, wang there will be nobody to hü stimulate (the king) in pu ki what he does not attain to«. — C. Kiang Sheng punctuates after shou: »Greatly do not tsê request me shou (to settle up, finish =) retire, there is nothing which I shall not by efforts attain to« (I shall do my best). For tsê in the sense of 'to demand, to exact, to request', cf. Tso: Huan 13, phr. 41. »Sung largely demanded bribes from Cheng«. For shou 42 = 'to settle up, to finish (doing)', cf. Ts'ê: Ts'in ts'ê 43 »to cease doing harm«. — D. Sun Sing-yen divides in the same way, but says shou = 'to return': »Greatly do not rebuke me to return (home); there will be nobody to stimulate me in what I do not attain to«. But shou has no such meaning. — E. Chuang Tsung-po: »Is it not our tsê duty shou to achieve (sc. virtue); but there is nobody to stimulate us in what we do not attain to«. Chuang simply skips the tan, evidently considering it as a mere particle (herein followed by all those below), which is quite right, as shown in detail by Wang Yin-chi. But shou = 'to achieve' is unsatisfactory. — F. Yü Yüé, believing that the preceding line referred to the young and inexperienced king Ch'eng, interprets: wu wo tsê shou »If there is nobody who enjoins upon me to achieve (the work), wang hü pu ki there will be nobody to stimulate (the king) in what he does not attain to«. — G. Sun Yi-jang: shou 42 is a corruption of the similar char. yu 44 and yu wang hü 45 is equal to 46. Very arbitrary and inadmissible. — H. Chang Ping-lin is even bolder, altering the words all the way as his fancy pleases. He reads the line together with the preceding siao tsi t'ung wei tsai wei 47. T'ung 48 is short for 49 'stupid', wei 50 is short for mei 51 'obscured, unenlightened', 52 should be 53 = 54 'to criticise', shou 42 is a loan char. for kiu 55 'to correct'. Thus: siao tsi t'ung mei, I, small child, am stupid and unenlightened, tsai wei tan wu wo ts'i kiu those in office do not criticise or correct me, wang hü pu ki there is nobody who stimulates me in what I do not attain to«. This interpr. is only adduced here as a warning example of extremely lax and bad philology. — I. It seems evident that, in the first line, C (Kiang) has found the proper solution, with the modification that tan is merely a particle.

The context then gives the sense of the whole. Chou Kung pleads with Shao Kung that he himself is no usurpator, but an ordinary minister, just as before the regency: Shao Kung should not urge him to retire, but on the contrary encourage him to achieve his work: »(I, small child, am just the same as when not yet in the high position); do not request me to (settle up =) retire; wang hū without encouragement pu ki I shall not (arrive =) succeed».

1887. Kou tsao tê pu kiang 56. This line is followed by: wo tsê ming niao pu wen 57. For kou tsao tê »(men who are) old and of a perfected virtue» see Gl. 817.

A. Cheng Hün defines kiang 58 as = 59 'to submit the will', i. e. to subordinate oneself, evidently thinking of Lun: Wei tsî 60 »to submit the will and disgrace the person». Thus: »If men who are old and of a perfected virtue do not submit (their wills)»; and, Cheng adds, take office along with me. PK'ung similarly says kiang = 61 'submit their minds'. It is not very happy thus to take kiang as a transitive verb with an understood object ('will' or 'mind'); with a slight modification we obtain much the same general sense but a better grammar: »If men who are old and of a perfected virtue do not (descend, lower themselves =) condescend (sc. to help), (to us [Chou] then no singing-bird [sc. of good augury] will make itself heard)». For kiang 58 in this sense cf. Tso: Yin 11, phr. 62 »he will be able to condescend to follow (our wishes)» etc. (very common). For the legend of the singing-bird as a good augury at the start of the Chou dynasty see Kyü: Chou yü. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »tê the virtue of the kou tsao old and perfected will not descend (on the people)». — C. Sun Sing-yen: »(If) men who are old and of a perfected virtue are not sent down (by Heaven)». — D. Chang Ping-lin: In Tso: Ai 26 the phr. 63 is expl. by Tu Yü as = »The six ministers kiang harmoniously (concordantly) managed the government», and Chang says this is the meaning here: »If the tê virtue of the old and perfected ones is not kiang harmonious» (and Chang continues: wo tsê ming niao pu wen I will not hear as much as a singing bird», i. e. nobody will give me any advice — a comical idea). In spite of Tu Yü this sense of kiang is very doubtful: the Tso line rather means: »The six ministers condescended to attend to the government.» — A suits the context best: an appeal to Shao Kung loyally to cooperate in favour of the Chou house.

1888. Shen yüe k' i yu neng ko 64. We had, in the Ta kao, a line which started in the same way: 65 »How much the less should I be able to comprehend and know the commands of Heaven». Ko 66 there meant 'to come all through, to penetrate, comprehend', see Gl. 1590. In spite of the similarity in formulation, our present line cannot have that sense.

A. Cheng Hün and PK'ung: ko 66 means 67 »attain (to Heaven)», as we had ko yü huang t'ien 68 earlier in the chapter. This has been generally accepted. — B. It is awkward to have ko stand absolute, with only an understood object 'to attain' (to Heaven). It seems more reasonable here to take it as practically synonymous with the

31. 咸劉厥敵 32. 咸 33. 滅 34. 予往暨汝殲其濟 35. 自今以往 36. 小子同未有位 37. 小子旦 38. 同位 39. 同未有位 40. 誕無我責收罔勛不及 41. 宋多責賂於鄭 42. 收 43. 收害 44. 攸 45. 攸罔勛 46. 罔攸勛 47. 小子同未有位 48. 同 49. 同 50. 未 51. 昧 52. 責 53. 束 54. 誅 55. 糾 56. 考造德不降 57. 我則鳴鳥不聞 58. 降 59. 降志 60. 降志辱身 61. 降意 62. 其能降以相從也 63. 六卿...降聽政 64. 矧曰其有能格 65. 矧曰其有能格知天命 66. 格 67. 格于天 68. 格于皇天 69. 我不以後

ki 'to reach, arrive' = 'to succeed' in the preceding line: 'How much the less shall we be able to (arrive =) succeed'.

Kao kün nai yu yü see Gl. 1630.

1889. Wo pu yi hou jen mi 69.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: 'I will not make (posterior people =) future generations be in doubt' (sc. as to my principles). — B. Lin Chi-k'i insists that hou jen 'the posterior man', i. e. 'the successor' (to the throne) means the young Ch'eng Wang. This is, in fact, well supported by Lo kao, where ho u 70 means 'successor', (see Gl. 1777) and by the phr. 71 'successor king' in Tsiu kao. Moreover, it is confirmed by the following ts'ien jen 'the predecessors'. And Lü Tsu-k'ien paraphrases yi hou jen mi by 72: 'I will not (take =) make the successor go astray'. Sun Sing-yen better takes yi 73 as = 74 'taking' = 'together with' (common), thus: 'I will not with the successor (sc. the young king) go astray'. — C. Kiang Sheng: '(I tell you) that I do not with a view to my descendants go astray' (i. e. covet the throne).

1890. Ts'ien jen fu nai sin 75.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 'The predecessors, Wen and Wu, 76 (spread out =) disclosed their hearts as models'; thus our text: 'The predecessors disclosed their hearts'. PK'ung's k'i nai 77 being grammatically quite absurd, K'ung Ying-ta tries to explain nai as a 78 'slowing' (i. e. filling-out) particle. Legge could not be satisfied with this and so he says that nai 79 'would seem' to be = 80 'his, their'; but he adds that in reality this is not so; the phr. means: 'ts'ien jen fu what the predecessors displayed nai sin was the heart' (or rather, since he took ts'ien jen to refer to Wu wang only: 'what the predecessor displayed, was the heart'), a violent forcing of the text. — B. Su Shi foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en: 'The predecessor (Wu Wang) opened up your heart' (said to Shao Kung). But 81 pu sin, synon. with fu sin 82, regularly means 'to disclose one's own heart', i. e. to speak frankly, e. g. Tso: Süan 12, phr. 83 'I presume to disclose my belly and heart'. — In P'an Keng we had: 84 'Now I will (spread out =) disclose my heart and belly', and it stands to reason that fu sin should mean the same here, in accordance with A. But this is possible, not in the way PK'ung imagines but because nai 79 (Arch. 85) is a corruption of kü e 86 (Arch. 87) (very common in the Shu, cf. Gl. 1481, 1604), just as in the preceding line, where nai yu yü 88 is wrong for 89 kü e yu yü, see Gl. 1630. Thus our line here should really run: 90 'The predecessors disclosed their hearts'.

1891. Ju ming hü ou wang tsai tan ch'eng ts'i ta ming 91.

The yü e 92 which precedes this line, does not, with the early comm., mean 'he said' (referring to Wu Wang) but is simply the common particle (= 93).

A. PK'ung: 'You should brightly exert yourself to (match =) be a counterpart to the king; it (lies in =) depends on sincerity; carry on this great charge'. Ts'ai Ch'en would take ou 94 'to be a counterpart to' as equal to 'a helpmate' (as 95 a farmer working in a pair with another). Chuang Shu-tsu would read the last lines as one: tsai tan ch'eng ts'i ta ming: 'it (lies in =) depends upon (your) sincerely carrying on this great charge'. Sun Sing-yen repeats his idea (refuted in Gl. 1302 above) that ming 96 does not mean 'brightly' but is = 97, ming - hü thus being a binome. — B. Chang Ping-lin has an eccentric idea that the line ou wang tsai tan alludes to the event described in the Kin t'eng, when the king found the document proving Chou Kung's good faith; ou 98 would stand for yü 99 and tsai 100 = 1: 'yü you have met with wang Tsai tan that the king verified the sincerity'. Very far-fetched. — C. Yü Sing-wu: tsai 100 is loan char. for tsai 2 (the orig. graph being simply 3 without radical), and the 4 is equal to 5 'to exhaust', cf. Mo: Fei lo, shang, phr. 6 'Exhaust the force of legs and arms, exhaust the wisdom of the thought'. Our line should be divided thus: ju ming hü ou wang tsai, tan ch'eng ts'i ta ming 'You should brightly exert

yourself to be a helpmate to the king, and (exhaustingly =) to the utmost carry on this great charge». This is strikingly plausible.

1892. Wei Wen wang tê p'ei ch'eng wu kiang ch'î sū 7.

A. PK'ung: »(As to) Wen Wang's virtue, (you should) grandly continue his boundless care». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes wei 8 as the verb 'to think' (common in the Shu): »You should think of Wen Wang's virtue, and so grandly continue his boundless care». — C. Kiang Sheng and Chuang Shu-tsu punctuate after ch'eng and Kiang explains: »Wen Wang's virtue, grandly to (take over =) continue it, that was a boundless care». — D. Another interpr. In a lost Shu chapter quoted by Meng: T'eng Wen Kung, hia, we have: 9. P'ei ch'eng here does not mean »greatly continuing» but is analogous with p'ei hien, as developed in Gl. 1070: »Greatly illustrious were Wen Wang's plans, greatly (lifted =) honoured were Wu Wang's bright deeds», and hence, in Ode 266, the phr. 10 means »the greatly illustrious and greatly honoured ones» (i. e. ancestors). It is obvious that we have the same *epitheton ornans* p'ei ch'eng here, and that ch'eng is thus no finite verb in our present line: »Wen Wang's virtue was a greatly (lifted-up =) celebrated and boundless care».

1893. Kao ju chen yün pao Sh'î 11.

A. PK'ung: »I tell you about my sincerity, guardian Sh'î». — B. Chang Ping-lin: The Wei stone classics read kao ju chen hiung 12. The archaic graphs of yün: 13 and hiung: 14 being very similar, a confusion was easy. Now Po hu t'ung: Pu ch'en states that Shao Kung was a son of Wen Wang's and hence a brother of Chou Kung's and Lun heng: K'î shou directly says that he was 14 an elder brother of Chou Kung's. A tradition to that effect may very well have been ancient. The Lun heng passage suggests that Wang Ch'ung had a Shu version reading hiung 14 and not yün 13, this being thus the earliest version attestable. Thus: »I tell you, my brother, guardian Sh'î». Though Chang Ping-lin mentions this interpr., the most simple and natural one (accepted by Yü Sing-wu), he still prefers to take hiung 15 as short-form of huan 16: »I (tell =) entreat you to endow me», with the object chen placed before the verb huan 16 — a very unnatural expl.

1894. K'î ju k'o king yi yü kien yü Yin sang ta fou (pi) 17.

A. PK'ung renders yi yü 18 by 19: »May you be able carefully to using my (words) scrutinize Yin's ruin (whether it was) great or not». This construction of course is inadmissible. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, who for the first part accepts A, says that 20 means 21 'great disorder'. This then in reality means that we should read 22 either *b'îag / b'jwi / p'ei 'to obstruct' (ex. in Yi: Sü kua), or *piag / pjwi / p'ei 'bad' (ex. in Yi: Kua 50), cf. Gl. 1021. We would then have: »... to scrutinize Yin's ruin and great (obstruction =) disorders», or better (accepted by Wang Yin-ch'î and various later scholars): »to scrutinize Yin's ruin and great wickedness». — C. Wang Yin-ch'î: yi 23 = 24 ('taking' = along with =) 'together with' (common), thus: »May you be able carefully together with me to scrutinize Yin's ruin and great wickedness».

人迷 70 後 71 後嗣王 72 使後人迷惑 73 以 74 與 75 前人敷乃心 76 布其乃心 77 為法度 78 其乃 79 緩辭 79 乃 80 其 81 布心 82 敷心 83 敷布腹心 84 今予其敷心 85 腹 85 3 86 厥 87 之 88 乃欲裕 89 厥欲裕 90 前人敷厥心 91 汝明勸偶王在 亶乘茲大命 92 曰 93 越 94 偶 95 耦 96 明 97 勉 98 偶 99 遇 100 在 1. 察 2. 哉 3. 才 4. 單 5. 殫 6. 竭股肱之力 亶思慮之智 7. 惟文王德丕承無疆之恤 8. 惟 9. 丕顯哉文王之謨丕承哉武王之烈 10. 丕顯丕承 11. 告汝朕允保奭 12. 告汝朕兄 13. 兄 14. 兄 15. 兄 16. 兄 17. 其汝克敬以予監于殷喪大否 18. 以予 19. 以我言

1895. Si nien wo t'ien wei 25.

A. PK'ung takes si 26 as the ordinary particle: 'then, and so': «and so consider our Heaven(-given) majesty». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en renders si by 27 'great', explaining: 28, which rather nonsensical paraphrase has caused Legge to translate: «consider the dread majesty of Heaven [which warns] us», and Couvreur: «cogitare (timendam) nobis coeli severitatem», which all means that wo would stand in the dative: «to consider the us(-concerning) Heaven's severity», which is quite inadmissible. — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen define si 26 by 29. But whereas Kiang explains: «Forever consider (my =) the by me considered Heaven's majesty», a comical idea, Sun follows A except for the first word. — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

1896. Yü pu yün wei jo tsī kao 30.

A. PK'ung: «I do not (sincerely =) really speak like this, (I only say:)». — B. This making poor sense, Ts'ai Ch'en has had to turn it into a rhetorical question: «Do I not sincerely speak like this?» Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen accept this. (Legge turns it differently: «Am I not to be believed that I must speak thus»). — C. Chuang Shu-tsu: the char. 31, as very often, serves for p'ei 32. We should read: yü p'ei yün «I (greatly =) very sincerely speak like this». — D. Chang Ping-lin: here, as in Gl. 1893, the Wei stone classics have hiung 15 inst. of yün 13. And just as in Wu yi the Ku-wen version corrupted an original 15 (really = k'uang 33) into the similar huan 34 (in the sense of 35 'to have leisure'), see Gl. 1850, so here the hiung 15 is a corruption of a true 34 in the sense of 35. Thus we should read 36 «I have no leisure to speak like this». — Before deciding we must examine a very analogous line later in our chapter:

Yü pu hui jo tsī to kao 37.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: «I do not (simply) hui in accordance with jo tsī such-like (affairs) speak a great deal». This has missed the parallelism entirely. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, as above, construes an oratorical question: «Do I pu hui (not conformingly =) unreasonably speak a great deal like this?». — C. Kiang Sheng: hui 38 is a loan char. for the homophonous 39 (both *g'iwəd / yiwei / hui): «I unwisely speak a great deal like this». But in the preceding example Kiang accepted Ts'ai's oratorical question, and thus treats these two strictly analogous phrases in entirely different ways. — D. Chuang Shu-tsu in this place follows Kiang Sheng (C), not realizing that he thus misses the parallelism between the two passages, which Ts'ai had already observed and taken into account. We should apply Chuang's good idea that 31 is read p'ei here as well: «I (greatly =) very reasonably speak a great deal like this».

We conclude that in two contiguous lines the original text had two very similar graphs: in the first hiung 14, in the second yün 13. The transcribers in early Han time confused them. Some deciphered them both as yün (followed by PK'ung), others both as hiung (foll. by the Wei stone classics); the true state, however, is the contrast: 40 but 41.

1897. Siang wo er jen ju yu ho tsai 42.

A. PK'ung: «(Achieve =) follow up the work of our two men (sc. the founders Wen and Wu), you should (have agreement =) act in accord (with them)». Siang 43 = 44 'to achieve' is well attested, see Gl. 1312, with a Shu par. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «The achieving (of the work) (rests with) us two men». The line would then have to be construed thus: «Achieving (the work) are we two men; you will (have agreement) agree with me». This is a very strained construction. — C. Kiang Sheng, basing himself on a Shuowen definition, says siang 43 = 'to toil' (no texts confirmation): «To toil (sc. for the king) is (the task of, incumbent on) us two men; you will agree (with me)». Even worse than B. — D. Sun Sing-yen punctuates after wo: «(Achieve me =) be a complement to me; the two men (I and) you yu ho make a (match =) form a pair». It is extraordinary that a brilliant

scholar like Sun could propose an interpr. like this. — **E.** Sun Yi-jang: *siang* 43 = 45 'to assist' (an unconfirmed meaning, cf. Gl. 1312): »For assisting us two men, (there are none, only) you (and I) *yu ho* (match =) form a pair». An absurd attempt. — **F.** Chang Ping-lin: *siang* 43 means 46 'to eliminate' (a well-attested meaning, see Gl. 215). Chang connects our line with the preceding 47 and the following 48: »If I were to say: eliminate us two men, you would have an answer; you would speak and say: (it rests with =) all depends on (those =) these two men» (i. e. us). It would be difficult to find a more strained and far-fetched interpretation. — A is simple and natural (besides being the oldest interpr.) and it is well confirmed by a par. a few lines later: 49 »Let us (all =) together achieve Wen Wang's work».

1898. *Yen yüe tsai shī er jen t'ien hui tsī chī wei shī er jen fu k'an* 50.

A. PK'ung, who takes »those two men» to refer to the founders Wen and Wu, explains: »If when you speak you *tsai* (rest on =) abide by those two men, Heaven's grace (towards the Chou) will evermore arrive, (so that those two men cannot sustain it =) more than those two men can sustain». This is really very nonsensical. — **B.** The many divergent attempts at interpr. based on the opinion that *er jen* »the two men» means »I and you» (Chou Kung and Shao Kung) need not be described, since in Gl. 1897 we have accepted the oldest interpr. of *er jen* in agreement with A. — **C.** Another interpr. *Tsai in tsai shī er jen* is quite the same as we had repeatedly earlier in our chapter: *tsai T'ai Kia* (when it rested with T'ai Kia =) when the turn came to T'ai Kia, indicating the time of a reign. Thus: »Yen yüe it is said that (when it rested with =) at the time of those two men, Heaven's grace evermore arrived (those two men not being able to sustain it =) more than those two men could sustain». This connects logically very well with the preceding.

1899. *Ming wo tsün min tsai jang hou jen yü p'ei shī* 51.

A. PK'ung punctuates after *jang*: »(If you) enlighten our prominent people in *jang* courtesy, (posterior men =) future generations *yü in* (this) will be *p'ei* great and *shī* correct». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after *min*: »May you distinguish the prominent people, then *tsai* it rests with (you) *jang* to cede to a successor in a (great =) prosperous time». Kiang Sheng in the main accepts this. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: *p'ei* 60 means *feng* 61 and *yü* 62 is the verb »to go»; he skips the troublesome *tsai* 63 altogether: »(If you) distinguish the prominent men, I will (cede to =) courteously invite|later men *yü* to go and *p'ei* take up *shī* those (blessings)». A most astonishing forcing of the text. — **D.** Sun Yi-jang takes *jang* 64 as a loan char. for *siang* 43, which would mean 'to help' (cf. 1897) and *p'ei shī* 65 would be equal to 66 *p'ei ch'eng* (cf. Gl. 1249 above): »Distinguish the prominent men; (it depends upon =) it is essential to assist future men *yü p'ei shī* in the great continuation (of the work)». With such alterations you can make a line mean anything. — **E.** Wang Sien-k'ien: *tsai* 63 = 67 (as in Yao tien), *p'ei* 60 is »a particle» (simply to be skipped): »Distinguish

20. 大否 21. 大亂 22. 否 23. 以 24. 與 25. 肆念我天威 26. 肆 27. 大 28. 大念我天威之可畏 29. 長 30.
予不允惟若茲誥 31. 不 32. 至 33. 況 34. 皇 35. 遑 36. 予不允遑 37. 予不惠若茲多告 38. 惠 39. 慧
40. 告汝朕兄 41. 予不允惟若茲誥 42. 寔我二人汝有合哉 43. 寔 44. 成 45. 助 46. 除 47. 予惟曰
48. 言曰在時二人 49. 我成成文王功 50. 言曰在時二人天休滋至惟時二人弗歎 51. 明我
俊民在讓後人于丕時 60. 丕 61. 奉 62. 于 63. 在 64. 讓 65. 丕時 66. 丕承 67. 察 68. 明 69. 勉 70. 才 71.

our prominent men, *tsai* examine (them) and then cede to a successor *yü* (p'ei) *shī* at that time». — F. *Yü* Sing-wu: *ming* 68 = 69; *jang* 64 is a loan char. for *sia ng* 43 in the sense of 'to achieve' (see Gl. 1897); *tsai* 63 stands for 70 = 71; *hou jen*, here as earlier in the chapter, means 'the successor' i. e. the king; p'ei 60 = 72 (no text proof whatever). Thus: 'ming wo tsün min tsai stimulate our prominent men; (achieve =) make complete the successor in this time'. — G. There are two convincing ideas in F. *Tsai* 63, which as such defies a reasonable expl., is surely but a loan char. for 71, just as in Gl. 1891 above; and *hou jen* refers to the king, just as in Gl. 1889 above. But for the rest it is unnecessary to tamper with the text: 'Distinguish our prominent men; (give way to =) accede to the successor (sc. the king who wants you to stay) in this great time'.

1900. *Tu fei shī er jen wo shī k'o chī yü kin jī hui* 73.

A. PK'ung: 'By sincerely assisting those two men (sc. the founders Wen and Wu) we (Chou) have been able to come to the prosperity of today'. For *tu fei*, cf. Lo kao: 74 'You have received your charges, sincerely to assist me'. *Pi* there and *fei* here are synonymous. — B. As stated in Gl. 1897, most later comm. take *er jen* to refer to Chou Kung and Shao Kung. The many diverging attempts at interpr. of our line here based on this idea need not be recorded, since we have accepted the ancient view on this fundamental point.

P'ei mao etc. see Gl. 1624.

1901. *Wang pu shuai pei* 75.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 76. This being very obscure, K'ung Ying-ta expounds it thus: 'There shall be none who do not follow (the teachings) and (you can) command them' — a hopeless construction. If *pei* 77 'to cause' were to mean 'to command', it should have to be taken in the passive: 'There are none who do not obey and (be commanded =) take orders'. — B. Liu Feng-lu: Erya says *pei* 77 = 78 'to follow', hence our *shuai pei* here is a binome: 'There shall be none who do not (follow =) obey'. There are, however, no other text ex. of this Erya meaning. — C. Another interpr. *Pei* was probably originally written as a simple 79 without radical (Chou fashion), and the addition of rad. 9 was made by Han scholars who took 79 to stand for 77. But it should have its proper meaning: 'low': 'There shall be none who are not (following =) obedient and (low =) humble'. Possibly Ts'ai Ch'en already held that opinion, since he freely paraphrases: 80 'there shall be none who do not as subjects submit'.

Yü pu hui jo tsī to kao see Gl. 1896.

1902. *Yü wei yung min yü t'ien yüe min* 81.

A. PK'ung: *min* 82 = 83 'to exert oneself', in which sense it is well attested in the binome *min mien* 84, Ode 35 as quoted in Han shu: Wu hing chī (the Mao version had correspondingly 85); for fuller details see Gl. 95. But PK'ung, who insists that *yü e* 86 is a preposition (= 87), continues in a strange way: 'I thereby exert myself about Heaven's (principles being applied to) the people'. We have seen in many places that *yü e* means simply 'and'. We may thus simplify A: 'I thereby exert myself for Heaven and the people'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *min* 82 = 'grief, anxiety' (common), thus: 'I therefore only am anxious about (the uncertain mandate of) Heaven and (the poverty of) the people'. If we eradicate the additions, obtaining simply: 'I therefore only am anxious about Heaven and the people', the meaning becomes much more vague and unsatisfactory than in the ancient interpr.

1903. *Chī jo tsī* 88.

A. PK'ung: 'Respectfully jo comply with tsī this (speech)'. — B. Kiang Sheng: ('It is only like this =) that is all!'. — The two graphs 89 (**tjǝg / tsi / chī*) 'only' and 90 (**tjǝr / tsi / chī*) 'to respect' are so similar as to be constantly confused by the early

scribes; we may be justified in accepting either of them as the original and correct word here. But B is certainly much more simple and natural. We had the phr. *j o t s i* meaning 'like this' in the preceding line (it is common: we have it in T'ang shī, Ta kao, Tsiu kao etc.) and it should mean the same here. We could, of course, retain the meaning 'to respect' in the first word and still have *j o t s i* = 'like this': Respect (what I have spoken) like this!, but that demands a violent ellipsis. Hence B is preferable.

To fang.

Y u k a o e r etc. see Gl. 1585.

1904. *S i k u o t o f a n g* 91.

This follows upon: »I will discourse and tell you».

A. PK'ung explains this by *s i f a n g* 92 'the four quarters', and K'ung Ying-ta fills out: 93 »the states of the four quarters». Now *s i k u o* alone often has that sense in Shī (e. g. Ode 241), but *s i k u o t o f a n g* certainly cannot be construed to mean this. We should either (with Wu Ch'eng) have to construe *s i k u o* in the genitive: »the *t o f a n g* many regions of the *s i k u o* states in the four quarters»; or two coördinated phr.: »the states of the four quarters and the numerous regions». — B. Our passage here (94) is closely akin to a passage in *To shī* (95); it is obvious that *s i k u o* in our present chapter means the same as in the *To shī* passage. There it cannot have the meaning of A above, but means »your four states», referring to the rebellious states. In comm. on *To shī*, PK'ung, basing himself on Mao Heng in comm. on Ode 157, took these to be Shang 96 (prince Wu Keng Lu-fu), Kuan 97, Ts'ai 98 and the just-mentioned Yen 99 (foll. by Ts'ai Ch'en, Kiang Sheng a. o.). But Cheng Hsuan in gloss on *Shu sū* (Preface) says that the »3 inspectors» 100 placed as controllers over Wu Keng Lu-fu in Shang, were (the princes of) Kuan, Ts'ai and Huo 1, and these »4 states» (Shang, Kuan, Ts'ai, Huo) must reasonably (with Legge and Couvreur) be the rebels addressed. Cheng has a pre-Han text as confirmation: *Yi Chou shu*: Tso lo k'ie, which narrates how Lu-fu was appointed in Shang (i. e. Sung) and got as controllers the princes of Kuan, Ts'ai and Huo. Thus: »(I will discourse and tell you) four states and numerous (other) regions».

W e i e r Y i u h o u y i n m i n see Gl. 1558. *W o w e i t a k i a n g e r m i n g* see Gl. 1477.

1905. *H u n g w e i t ' u t ' i e n c h i m i n g* 2.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta, refers this to Kie, the last Hia king, with a view to the following line, thus: »He (Kie) *h u n g* being great (planned =) deliberated about the commands of Heaven». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en refers them to the states of Shang and Yen: »Grandly (ambitiously) you have planned for (obtaining) the mandate of Heaven». — C. Kiang Sheng: *h u n g* 3 is merely a particle (refuted in Gl. 1587), and the line is a rhetorical question: »(Does a king) plan for the mandate of Heaven?» Sun Sing-yen, just as in the phr. in Gl. 1587, would take *h u n g* as = 4, which is quite unconfirmed. — D. Yü Sing-wu: with *t ' u* 5 meaning 'to plan for', the following line will make sheer nonsense: »You do not perpetually and respectfully think of the sacrifices». The original graph must have been 6, erroneously filled out into *t ' u* 5 in Han time, and 6 is the

哉 74 斯 73 篤 裴 時 二 人 我 式 克 至 于 今 日 休 74 受 命 篤 斯 75 罔 不 率 俾 76 無 不 循 化 而 使
之 77 俾 78 從 79 卑 80 無 不 臣 服 81 予 惟 用 閔 于 天 越 民 82 閔 83 勉 84 閔 勉 85 黽 勉 86 越 87
于 88 祗 若 茲 89 祗 90 祗 91 四 國 多 方 92 四 方 93 四 方 之 國 94 王 來 自 奄 ... 我 惟 大 降 爾 命
95 朕 來 自 奄 予 大 降 爾 四 國 民 命 96 商 97 管 98 蔡 99 奄 100 三 監 / 霍 2 洪 惟 圖 天 之 命 3.

same as pi 7 'to despise' (as we had it in Ta kao: fan pi wo Chou pang 8 »He even despises our Chou state«, see Gl. 1597; here, on the other hand, Yü would take pi as a fault for t'u, which is very unlikely). Our line 2 will then be: »You greatly despise Heaven's command (and do not perpetually and reverently think of the sacrifices)«. This is strikingly plausible, all the more since we have a similar line at the end of our chapter: 9 »You (dissolutely =) recklessly reject the command of Heaven«. — There are four analogous phrases:

To fang (later): Yi er to fang ta yin t'u t'ien chi ming; for this see Gl. 1804 above.

To fang (later): K'ue t'u ti chi ming 10 (k'ue = nai, see Gl. 1414).

A. PK'ung: »He (planned =) reckoned on God's mandate« (sc. that it would not be taken from him). — B. Yü Sing-wu: »He despised God's command«.

To fang (later): T'u k'ue cheng 11.

A. PK'ung: »Planning his government«. — B. Yü Sing-wu: t'u should be pi: »He despised his government work«.

To fang (later): Er nai ts'i tso put tien t'u ch'en yü cheng 12.

A. PK'ung: »You yourselves make so that you put tien not always t'u ch'en plan for sincerity yü cheng in the right (principles)«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »You yourselves do put tien unlawful things, but you t'u plan for ch'en being trusted yü cheng by the straight (men)«. (Kiang Sheng: »... trusted by your 13 superiours«). — C. Yü Sing-wu: t'u should be pi: »You yourselves do unlawful things, and despise to be faithful to your superiors«.

Wei ti kiang ko see Gl. 1803. Pu k'ent's'i yen yü min see Gl. 1409.

1906. Pu k'o chung ji k'üan yü ti chi ti 14.

A. PK'ung: »He could not for a whole day be stimulated to God's way«, thus taking ti 15 as a noun = 16 'way'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »He could not for a whole day be stimulated by God's guidance«; ti = 17, as often. — C. Ma Jung's version read ti chi yü 18, and Ma says: yü = 19, thus: »... stimulated to God's place«, which is clearly inferior to the A reading. Ma's version has led Sun Sing-yen to a curious speculation: ti 15 (phon. yü 20) and Ma's yü 21 both stand for 22 = 23 (Shuowen). Thus: »He was not capable of the length of one day in being stimulated by God«. — D. Yü Sing-wu: k'üan 24 should be kuan 25 (as in Kün Shī, see Gl. 1879). Yü would make the same emendation in two later ex. of k'üan in our chapter. But it is not plausible, the meaning of the sentence being better with the traditional k'üan.

K'ue t'u ti chi ming see Gl. 1905.

1907. Pu k'o k'ai yü min chi li 26.

A. PK'ung says li 27 = 28 'to apply' (it is indeed attested in the sense of 'to attach', see Gl. 442). He interprets: »He could not (open =) initiate in regard to what (should) be applied to the people«, sc. a good government. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »He could not open up (the means) in regard to what the people (attached themselves to =) relied on (for support)«. — C. Kiang Sheng (who believes that k'ai 29 is an alteration from p'i 30, made by Wei Pao): »He could not (open up in regard to =) widely bestow (the principles through which) the people attach themselves (sc. to their ruler)«. — D. Sun Sing-yen: li 27 means 'attached' in the sense of 'allotted to, assigned for': »He could not (open up for =) set free such of the people who had been assigned (for punishment)«. Li in this sense is indeed almost a technical term: Chou li: Si hing 31 »He manages the laws of the 5 punishments in order to (attach =) assign to them the crimes of the myriad people«; Chouli: Ta si k'ou 32 »Such of the myriad people who have crimes but have not yet been (attached =) assigned to the (proper) laws«; Chouli: Siao si k'ou 33 »He assigns the 8 punishments to the laws of the state«; Shu: Lü hing 34: »All these who were (attached,

allotted =) assigned for punishments». In short, our phr. *min chī li* »such of the people who had been assigned» is a short-form for *min chī li hing* 35. Sun explains *k' ai* 29 by 36 'to set free'. — E. Chang Ping-lin: *li* 27 means 'a crowd': »He could not make himself free from the crowd»(?). But *li* has no such meaning. — F. Yü Sing-wu: *k' ai* 29 'to open up' means 37 'to elucidate, make clear to oneself, understand': »He could not understand what the people attach themselves to». — D is undoubtedly the best corroborated interpr. For *li* the par. adduced are decisive; for *k' ai* we have a few lines later: *k' ai shī wu ku* 38 »they set free the innocent» (unambiguous meaning). Since it is here a question of punishments, and our line 26 above is likewise followed by »he greatly sent down punishments», it is evident that Sun is right in taking *k' ai* as = »to set free» and *li* as = »to assign» (for a certain punishment). — This being clear, we should examine the following:

To fang (later): *N üe yü min chī yü po wei ta pu k' o k' ai* 39.

A. PK'ung: »They oppressed the people, even up to a hundred actions (i. e. in numerous cases), they greatly could not (open up =) enlighten the people» (with good words). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »They oppressed the people, so that the (hundred =) many enterprises (of the people) greatly could not (be opened up =) be promoted». (Liu Feng-lu: »so that the hundred affairs greatly could not [open up =] succeed»). — C. Yü Sing-wu: »They were greatly unable to be (opened up =) enlightened». — D. Sun Sing-yen: »(Together with them) he oppressed the people, so that in the (hundred =) numerous actions he greatly was unable to (set free =) condone».

To fang (later): *K' ai küe ku t' ien* 40.

A. Cheng Hün: »(In order) to open up their thoughts of Heaven». — B. PK'ung: »It (Heaven) opened up (the way as successor) for one could have regard for Heaven». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: 41 »To open (the way) for one who could receive (its) loving regard», which is unreconcilable with the text. — D. On the analogy of the preceding the line should mean: »(Heaven searched in your numerous regions, and greatly shook you by its severity), it would *k' ai* condone such who had regard for Heaven, (but in your numerous regions there were none who were able to have regard for it)».

To fang (later): *Shen küe li nai k' üan küe min* 42.

A. PK'ung: »He was careful in applying (the government) and so stimulated his people». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »He was careful about what he (attached himself to =) relied on, and so stimulated his people». — C. Kiang Sheng: »He was careful about what (the people) attach themselves to and so stimulated his people». — D. Sun Sing-yen: »He was careful about those who were assigned (for punishments) and so he stimulated his people». The whole context amply confirms this interpr. — E. Chang Ping-lin: »He stimulated *li* his crowd and so stimulated his people».

Lü hing: *Wei shī Miao min fei ch' a yü yü chī li* 43.

洪4代5.圖6.苗7.部8.反部我周邦9.爾乃肩播天命10.厥圖帝之命11.圖厥政12.爾乃自作不典圖忱于正13.正長14.不可終日勸于帝之迪15.迪16.道17.導18.帝之攸19.所20.由21.攸22.變23.長24.勸25.觀26.不可開于民之麗27.麗28.施29.開30.開31.掌五刑之法以麗萬民之罪32.萬民之有罪過而未麗于法33.以八辟麗邦法34.越茲麗刑35.民之麗刑36.開釋37.明38.開釋無辜39.虐于民至于百為大不可開40.闕顧天41.開發其能受眷顧者42.慎厥麗乃勸43.惟時苗民匪察于獄之麗44.重45.因甲于內亂46.甲47.狎48.習49.

A. PK'ung: »The Miao people did not examine into li the application (of punishments) y ü y ü in criminal cases»; etc. (various interpr.). — B. In accordance with the preceding the line should mean: »The Miao people made no examination in regard to li those assigned (for punishment) in y ü the criminal cases», (they simply considered them as guilty).

Ch'ung luan yu Hia — for ch'ung = 'heavy' (PK'ung = 44, cf. Gl. 1679) Sun Sing-yen would prefer the meaning: »in the end» (cf. Gl. 140), but this is really no improvement.

1908. Yin kia (hia) yü nei luan 45.

A. Cheng Hün takes kia 46 as short-form for hia 47 (after Erya), defining this as = 48 ('to be familiar with' = 'to practise'), and he paraphrases: »He practised the actions of beasts in the interior and did interior disorder». This is not reconcilable with the text, and Sun Sing-yen turns it better: »And then he was familiar with the disorderly ones of the interior», see Gl. 192. — B. PK'ung has a curious idea that kia 46 stands for 49 'to be squeezed, to be in between': »He was pressed between (the outer disorder and) the disorder of interior (i. e. palace)». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: »yin what he based himself on kia (= 50) (began with =) was in the first place nei luan the disorderly ones of the interior (i. e. the favourites)».

1909. Pu k'o ling ch'eng yü lü 51.

A. PK'ung: »He could not excellently (take over in regard to =) take care of the multitude». — B. Yü Sing-wu: lü means 52 'grace': »He could not well receive grace». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

1910. Wang p'ei wei tsin chi kung 53.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 54 »He did not greatly advance a reverent virtues(?), which is unreconcilable with the text. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: 55 »He (could) not greatly advance in reverence». Since chi 56 cannot mean yü 57 we should then have to take it as a verb: chi 'to go', tsin-chi being a binome, which is very unlikely. — C. Kiang Sheng: »The greatest ones in falseness, he promoted them to (furnish =) have office». — D. Sun Sing-yen: p'ei 58 should be read pu 59 (they were originally one graph): »There were none who did not because of tsin presents kung (furnish =) have office». Or, as Wang Sien-k'ien modifies it: »There were none who did not furnish presents». — E. The Ji kiang Shu king kie yi: »He could not greatly (advance =) promote (good men) and respect them». — F. Couvreur take wei 60 as verb: »He did not greatly think of (advancing to them =) treating them with reverent care». — G. Yü Sing-wu, basing himself on a Tun-huang MS, would eliminate the chi 61, and paraphrases: 62, which, however, makes no sense in the context. — H. Another interpr. Chi must reasonably refer to the lü 63 'the multitude' just mentioned: »He did not grandly bring them forward to reverence» — he was not respected by the people.

1911. Hung shu yü min 64.

A. PK'ung: »He was greatly lazy towards the people». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en connects with the preceding line: »(He did not . . .) grandly be liberal to the people». — C. Sie Ki-süan (12th c. A. D.) says the Kin-wen originally had t'ü 65 inst. of shü 66, and interprets: »He was greatly (bitter =) noisome to the people». But this variant, unknown to Lu Tê-ming (Shiwen) and K'ung Ying-ta and cropping up first in Sung time (repeated by Wang Ying-lin in K'un hüe ki wen) is not very trustworthy. On the other hand, there are early examples of t'ü 65 having served as loan char. for shü 66 (e. g. Chouli: Kung jen, Li: Yü tsao), and Kiang Sheng believes that PK'ung's text originally had t'ü 65 but that PK'ung thought it stood for shü 66 and altered it accordingly. But this is a mere guess. Even if some early text version had t'ü (now known earliest from the 12th c.), it could just as well have been a loan char. for shü here as in Chouli and Li. A therefore seems safest.

1912. Yi wei yu Hia chī min t'ao chī jī k'in yi ko Hia yi 67.

For chī 68 Shuowen has the var. 69; the word is sometimes wr. 70, cf. Gl. 81.

A. PK'ung: »Also the people of the lord of Hia was t'ao greedy and chī annoyed; he daily more revered (such who) destroyed and injured the city of Hia». This dividing after chī makes poor rhythm, Ts'ai Ch'en therefore carries jī k'in to the preceding: »Also, of the people of the lord of Hia, the greedy and annoyed were daily more revered; they destroyed» etc. — C. Kiang Sheng has an amusing trick. In gloss on Ode 132, phr. 71, Mao expounds: 72 »In the longing heart it was k'in k'in intense (feeling)», k'in k'in thus really meaning 'intense (feeling)'. Kiang, however, concludes from this gloss that k'in can mean 'to long', and explains: »Also the people of the lord of Hia became greedy and wicked and daily (longed =) hoped to destroy and injure the city of Hia». — D. Sun Sing-yen: k'in 73 is a short-form for hin 74, Erya = 75 'to rise, to arise, to raise' (ex. in Chouli): »Also the people of the lord of Hia, their greed and annoyance daily rose; he destroyed» etc. Chuang Shu-tsu would again carry jī hin to the following: »Also the people of the lord of Hia became covetous and annoyed; they daily (raised =) set about to destroy» etc. — E. Another interpr. Kiang (C) is right that k'in should be interpreted on the analogy of Ode 132. Its line yu sin k'in k'in 71 simply means: »My grieved heart is full of intense feeling» (this was the earliest interpr.; Erya: Shī hūn k'in k'in = 76) and such is the meaning here too. T'ao 77 »greedy», which comes in very unnatural here, is an error for t'ao 78 'grieved', attested in Odes 102, 142, 146 etc. (in other words: the original graph was 79, without radical, Chou fashion, and was wrongly enlarged by the Han scholars into 77 inst. of the correct 78). Thus: »Also the people of the lord of Hia, their grief and annoyance became daily more intense; he destroyed and injured the city of Hia». For yi 80 'to destroy' cf. Gl. 1470.

1913. Wei t'ien pu pi ch'un 81.

A. PK'ung: »Heaven's not giving favour (sc. to Hia) was (great =) definite». Confirmed by a Shu par., see Gl. 1800. — B. Sun Sing-yen: Fang yen says ch'un 82 = 'fine' 83: »Heaven did not give him (Kie) a fine (reward)». — C. Ye Meng-tê (Sung time) says that when Heaven gives its favour it is termed ch'un yu ming 84, when not, it is called, consistently, pu pi ch'un 85. But T'ien ch'un yu ming (Shu: Kūn Shī) really means: »Heaven greatly supported their mandate», and this tallies well with A above. — D. Chu Pin punctuates after pi: T'ien pu pi »Heaven did not give favour», and carries ch'un great' to the next line, which is quite impossible.

1914. Nai wei yier to fang chī yi min pu k'o yung yū to hiang 86.

A. PK'ung: »(Using =) having the righteous people of your numerous regions, he (still) could not continue long in the ample enjoyment (of the mandate)». We have hiang in this sense some lines later: hiang t'ien ming 87. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »It was because the righteous people of your numerous regions could not continue long in the enjoyment of their many (offices)». Though this is quite plausible in itself (accepted by Kiang Sheng),

夫始不可靈承于旅休罔丕惟進之恭無大惟進恭德不能大進於恭於丕不惟之無不惟進於恭順旅洪紆于民荼紆亦惟有夏之民叨饋日飲剗割夏邑憤堊懷憂心飲飲思望之心中飲飲然飲成興憂叨切刀割惟天不畀純純好純佑命不畀純乃惟以爾多方之義民不可永于多享享天命義民民義民儀民獻獻民義

it is inferior to A, because the phr. *y i e r t o f a n g . . .* recurs some paragraphs later and then clearly refers to the king: »(Using =) having your numerous regions». — C. Kiang Sheng in the main follows B, but says that *y i m i n 88* is equal to *m i n y i 89* i. e. 90, and Sun Sing-yen adds that in *Ta kao* the phr. *m i n h i e n 91* »eminent men among the people» is rendered by *m i n y i 90* in *Shang shu ta chuan*. Chang Ping-lin, avoiding the useless metathesis, simply says that *y i m i n 88* means *h i e n m i n 92*. All this is unnecessary and phonetically unconvincing, see Gl. 1327. — D. The phr. *y i m i n 88* recurs in *Li cheng*, and there Wang Nien-sun proposes that *y i 93* (**ngia*) stands for *n g o 94* (**ngá*) »slanting, oblique», in the sense of »depraved» (the phonetic 95 **ngá* being the same in both characters), just as 96 means »oblique» and then »depraved». Yü Yüe would apply that meaning here as well. »Using the depraved (people =) men of your numerous regions, he could not continue long in the ample enjoyment (of the mandate)». This is ingenious; but we should wish to see some case in which a real **ngá* (written 94 or 95) occurs in the sense of »depraved». Such examples lacking, Wang's theory is unconvincing. And why should a **ngá* invariably be denoted by a loan char. read **ngia*, never by one read **ngá* (97, 98 etc.)? For *y i 93* Wang has adduced, besides two more *Shu* ex. (see below), instances from *Ta Tai*: *Ts'ien sheng* and *Kuan*: *Ming fa*, and Yü Yüe adds other examples from *Tso*: *Wen 18*, *Kuan*: *Fa kin* (there wr. 99), *Sün*: *Ch'eng siang* (there wr. 100), but all these cases are susceptible of other interpretations. Thus the *Ta Tai* ex.: 1 should mean: »To beguile the fine people to be found in the mansions is called *y i* (93 = 99) casuistry» (not: »is called depravity»); and so forth, none of the ex. adduced being conclusive. — E. Yü Sing-wu has a strange idea, that since *y i 93* and *y i 100* are sometimes interchangeable with *y i 2* (they are all the same word stem), and since *Shiwen* in *Ode 249* abbreviates *y i 3* into 4, and since this latter can serve for *tsu 5* »to obstruct, embarrass», we should read here not *y i m i n 88* but 6 *tsu m i n* »the embarrassed people, the people in difficulties». Utterly unacceptable. — We should compare:

Shu: *Li cheng*: *Ts i n a i s a n t s ê w u y i m i n*. This follows upon: »Endeavour and strive to use those of a greatly docile virtue, those are the men to be placed» (see Gl. 1728).

A. PK'ung, not realizing that *s a n t s ê* means »the three (high) positions» (referring to the choice of leading officers in the preceding line) takes it to mean »the three (placings =) locations of banishments» (cf. *Yao tien*): »Then you can (do the 3 placings to =) banish to the 3 locations *w u y i m i n* the unrighteous men». — B. *Ts'ai Ch'en*: »Then (among) those in the three (high) positions there will be no righteous men». — C. Kiang Sheng takes *y i* as a verb: »Then those in the three (high) positions *w u y i* will have no pattern (to give) *m i n* to the people». A dreadful construction. — D. Wang Nien-sun: *y i m i n 88* (as above) = 7 »(oblique =) depraved people»: »Then among those in the three (high) positions there will be no depraved people». — E. Chang Ping-lin: *Tso*: *Hi 24*, phr. 8 »Those below consider-as-righteous their crimes» is rendered by *Sî-ma Ts'ien* (*Tsin shî kia*) 9 »Those below thrust forward [as good] their crimes»; hence *y i 93* can mean *m a o 10* and *y i m i n* means »forward-pushing people». A school example of bad philology. — F. Another interpr. The line is simply a rhetorical question: »(Endeavour and strive to use those of a greatly docile virtue, those are the men to be put in the high positions); thus, in the three (high) positions, will there not be righteous people?» That the line is not formally an interrogative clause but looks like an ordinary affirmative clause, is no obstacle. Such is often the case in the early texts. Cf. *Ode 204*: *s i e n t s u f e i j e n 11* »Were the ancestors not men?», the question being here certain beyond dispute through the context.

Shu: *Lü hing*: *W a n g p u k ' o u t s e i c h ' i y i k i e n k i u 12*.

A. Ma Jung: *c h ' i 13* = 14 »light»; *c h ' i y i 15* would then mean »of light virtue». No text par. Possibly Ma took *c h ' i 13* to stand for *t i 16* »to scold, criticize», his *k ' i n g*

meaning 'to despise' (»a despicable righteousness«?). — **B.** Cheng Hsüan paraphrases 17, which shows that he took *yi* 93 to serve for *yi* 100 'deportment, behaviour': »There were none who were not robbers and bandits, owl-behavioured (i. e. rapacious), villains and traitors«. — **C.** Ts'ai Ch'en: *ch' i yi* = »owl-principled«. — **D.** Wang Nien-sun, as above: *yi* for *ngo* 94; *ch' i* = 14, after Ma Jung: »... robbers and bandits, (light =) frivolous and *ngo* depraved...«. — **E.** Chang Ping-lin: *ch' i* 13 stands for 18 and *yi* = *mao* 10, as above: »... robbers and bandits, obstructive and forward-pushing«.

For: *Hia ch' i kung to sh' i* 19 »Hia's (respected =) trusted officers«, not: »Hia's (furnishing =) serving officers«, see Gl. 1787.

1915. *Ta pu k' o ming pao hiang yü min* 20.

A. PK'ung's paraphrase: 21 is no more clear than the text. K'ung Ying-ta expounds: »They greatly could not with *ming* the enlightened principles and *pao* peaceful preservation *hiang* (bring-presents =) endow the people«. It seems better to coördinate (for *ming pao* cf. Lo kao under B below): »They were greatly unable brightly to protect and to (present =) give bounties to the people«. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen is troubled by the fact that with the interpr. above *hiang* 22 would here have a different meaning from that in the preceding line. He therefore stops with *hiang*, carrying *yü min* to the next line. Taking *ming* 23 to mean 24 (refuted in Gl. 1302), he refers both lines to the king: »(He could not continue long in the ample enjoyment [of the mandate]; the officers) greatly could not *ming* strive to *pao* make safe *hiang* his enjoyment (of the mandate)«. But then the next line will be impossible: *yü min nai sü wei nüe yü min*, with a double *yü min*. Still worse is Wang Sien-k'ien, who cuts after *ming*, and carries *pao hiang yü min* to the next line, thus separating the *ming-pao* which is a standing phrase, see Lo kao 25 »You, prince, (brightly protect =) are a bright protector to me, young man«. — That *hiang* means 'to enjoy' (an office) in the preceding line and 'to present' in the present is no obstacle. It is really the same word, the fundamental meaning being 'to enjoy', and a causative to this: 'to cause to enjoy' = 'to offer up, to present' is very natural. We have *hiang* with the same two different meaning in one line in P'an Keng: 26 »Now when I *hiang* offer the great sacrifices to the former kings, your ancestors follow and together with them *hiang* enjoy them«.

Ta pu k' o k' ai see Gl. 1907.

1916. *K' o yi er to fang kien tai Hia tso min chu* 27.

A. PK'ung takes *kien* 28 as = 29 'great' (common): »He could, having your numerous regions, grandly supersede the Hia and become the lord of the people«. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: *kien* = 'to select' (common): »He could, because your numerous regions selected him, supersede« etc. — **C.** Sun Sing-yen: since *kien* 30 sometimes means *tai* 31 'to substitute, supersede' and in precisely the sense of the present passage, e. g. Ode 294, phr. 32 »Augustly he (replaced =) came to the succession«, it is evident that *kien* 28 should be 30 (the Han scholars having wrongly added the rad. 118), and that *kien-tai* is

1. 俄 2. 我 3. 邪 4. 鵝 5. 餓 6. 議 7. 儀 1. 諸居室家有君子曰義 2. 誼 3. 宜 4. 且 5. 阻 6. 阻
民 7. 俄民 8. 下義其罪 9. 下冒其罪 10. 冒 11. 先祖匪人 12. 罔不寇賊鵠義姦究 13. 鵠 14. 輕
15. 鵠義 16. 誼 17. 盜賊狀如鵠鵠 18. 抵 19. 夏之禁(共)多士 20. 大不克明保享于民 21. 大不能
明安享于民 22. 享 23. 明 24. 勉 25. 公明保于冲子 26. 茲予大享于先王爾祖其從與享之 27.
克以前多方簡代夏作民主 28. 簡 29. 大 30. 罔 31. 代 32. 皇以罔之 33. 不集于享 34. 可以集事

a synonym-binome: »He could, having your numerous regions, supersede Hia and become the lord of the people«.

Shen küeli nai k'üan see Gl. 1907.

Küe min hing yung k'üan see Gl. 1742.

Ta yin t'u (pi) t'ien chī ming sie yu ts'i see Gl. 1804, 1905.

1917. Pu tsi yü hiang 33.

A. PK'ung: »He did not achieve his enjoyment (of the mandate)«. Tsi in this sense is common, e. g. Tso: Huan 5, phr. 34: »We can achieve (accomplish) the business«. — B. Lü Tsu-k'ien, less convincing: tsi = 35 'to accumulate': »He could not accumulate that which contributed to the (enjoyment =) keeping of the mandate«, which was followed by Ts'ai Ch'en (Couvreur: non colligebat ad fruendum [regia dignitate]). — C. Wu Ch'eng: »He could not bring (the princes) together, bringing offerings«.

T'ien kiang shī sang see Gl. 1477.

1918. Pu küan cheng 36.

A. Ma Jung says that küan 37 = 38 'bright' and cheng 39 = 40 'to rise'. 'Bright' is only a variation of the ordinary definition 'pure' of küan. Kiang Sheng expounds: »(The offerings) did not in purity rise« (and be smelled by Heaven). For this might be said that küan is almost a technical term for the purity of sacrifices (e. g. Ode 166). But in connection with sacrifices cheng is much better attested as meaning 41 'to bring forward, to present' (Odes 210, 220 etc.), and we may modify: »He did not (in purity present =) bring pure sacrifices«. — B. PK'ung: »He did not in purity advance; criticized in Gl. 1151. — C. Sun Sing-yen: Kuangya says that cheng 39 = 42 'fine', thus: »He was not pure nor fine«. This is based on the Han school interpr. of Ode 244, phr. 43 »Wen Wang was splendid«. We find it also in Ode 299, see Gl. 1151. — D. Liu Feng-lu, accepting Ma's küan = 38 and cheng = 40, interprets: »He did not (brightly =) enlightenedly raise (people into office)«. — C would seem to be most simple and natural. But the very combination of küan and cheng in fact reveals that the line refers to sacrifices, which confirms A in its modified form.

1919. T'ien wei wu nien sü hia chī tsī sun 44.

Shang shu ta chuan has the reading sü hia 45, where hia 46 is a mere loan char. for hia 47 (both *g'd), defined as = 48 by Fu Sheng. Sü hia means 'to wait and give respite'.

A. PK'ung interprets: »Heaven for five years waited and gave respite to the descendant«, i. e. king Shou. This is inadmissible, since it skips the chī 49 (when Wu Ch'eng would take this as = 50: »This descendant«, he forgets that chī is never so used in the Shu). K'ung Ying-ta has felt the inadequacy, and in gloss on Ode 285 he tampers with the Shu text, quoting: 51, adding a »T'ang« to make the following chī reasonable. But it is still unlikely that tsī sun should mean »descendant« in the singular. — B. Cheng Hüan had already realized that tsī sun must mean 'sons and grandsons', for he expounds: »Heaven wanted him (sc. Shou) to transmit it to sons and grandsons«. Liu Feng-lu, followed by Wang Sien-k'ien, has then rightly realized that we have to punctuate after chī, and carry tsī sun to the following line: tan tso min chu. This had earlier been referred to Shou: »Grandly being the lord of the people, he could« etc. Now, instead, we obtain: sü hia chī, tsī sun tan tso min chu 52: »Heaven for five years waited and gave respite to him, (so that) his sons and grandsons would grandly be the lords of the people.«

1920. Wang k'o nien t'ing 53.

A. PK'ung: »He could not think (about affairs), nor listen (to words)«. — B. Kiang Sheng: »He had nothing which could be thought of or listened to, sc. by Heaven. (Legge: »There was nothing in him deserving to be regarded«). — C. Another interpr. The archaic graphs

for t'ing 54 'to hear' and sheng 55 'sage, wise' are so similar as to be practically identical. In Shu: Wu yi we have the phr. ts'ī k'ue pu t'ing 56 in the Ku-wen version, but tsī k'ue pu sheng 57 in the Kin-wen version, the latter preferable, and t'ing of the Ku-wen being a corruption of sheng. Exactly the same is the case here. The preceding line has developed how a foolish man by nien 58 thinking can become sheng 55 wise, and here comes the application: our line must be read wang k'o nien sheng 59 'He could not nien think or sheng be wise'. That t'ing here is an error for sheng is quite obvious.

K'ai k'ue ku t'ien see Gl. 1907.

1921. Wang k'an ku chi 60.

A. PK'ung: 'There was nobody who was able to have regard for it (sc. Heaven)'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: 'There were none worth considering'. — The preceding line necessitates A. Moreover k'an 61 has the same sense of 'to be able to' in the next line.

Er ho pu ch'en yü chi see Gl. 1630.

1922. Er ho pu kia kie yi wo Chou wang 62.

A. PK'ung: kia 63 = 64 'near', kie 65 = 'great' (common) and 66 = 67 = 68 'to govern' (common), thus: 'Why do you not keep near to and greatly be governed by our king of Chou'. This interpr. as a passive construction is exceedingly unlikely. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: kia = 69 'to help' and kie 65 'to assist', thus: 'Why do you not help and assist our king of Chou'. Ts'ai simply skips the inconvenient yi 66. — C. Shīwen says that 63 should be read *g'iap / yiep / kie, which shows that Lu took it to be a short-form for 70 'to grasp'. Kiang Sheng seizes upon this and takes kie 65 = 71 'good' (after Erya), as short-form for 72, thus: 'Why do you not (grasping =) holding on to goodness be governed by our king of Chou'. — D. Sun Sing-yen: yi 67 (after Erya) = 73 (no text support), thus: 'Why do you not kia keeping near to kie goodness yi assist our king of Chou'. — E. Yü Yü: kia kie is a binome = 'to assist' (kia indeed sometimes means 'to support', and kie = 'to assist' is well attested). And yi 66, equal to 67, means 74 'peace': 'Why do you not assist and give peace to our king of Chou'. Yü adduces Tso, Ai 16, phr. shī tē yi ye 75, on which Tu Yü says: yi 67 = an 74. But an here has another sense: '(If they once see your face), they will be able to yi (govern themselves =) calm themselves'. This meaning is not applicable in our Shu line, and Yü has played on a double meaning in the word an, which is bad philology. — F. Yi 67 'to govern', frequently also means 'to direct', and here we have it with a further extension: 'Why do you not kia support and kie assist and yi (direct =) guide our king of Chou', sc. guide him as loyal and good advisers.

Er ho pu hui wang cf. Gl. 1281.

Er nai tilü pu tsing cf. Gl. 1656.

1923. Er sin wei ai 76.

A. PK'ung: 'Your hearts are not yet affectionate' (i. e. towards us Chou). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes ai as = 77: 'Have you in your hearts no love for yourselves?' There is

35.積 36.不獨 37.烝 38.明 39.烝 40.升 41.進 42.美 43.文王烝哉 44.天惟五年頒暇之子孫 45.須復 46.復 47.暇 48.暇 49.之 50.足 51.須暇滿之子孫 52.須暇之,子孫誕作民主 53.罔克念聽 54.聽 55.聖 56.此厥不聽 57.此厥不聖 58.念 59.罔克念聖 60.罔地顧之 61.堪 62.爾島不夾介 63.我周王 64.夾 65.近 66.介 67.艾 68.治 69.輔 70.挾 71.善 72.价 73.相 74.安 75.若見君面是德艾也 76.爾心未愛 77.自愛 78.未 79.愛 80.惠 81.順 82.我惟時其戰要囚之 83.戰 84.懼 85.要

nothing, however, to indicate an interrogative meaning; moreover *wei* 78 confirms A. — C. Sun Sing-yen: Shuowen defines *ai* 79 'to love' as = 80 'to be kind to'; and this char. *huei* 80, on the other hand, can sometimes mean *shun* 81 'to be compliant'; hence *ai* 79 should also have the meaning 'compliant', and our clause would be: 'Your hearts are not yet compliant'. A school example of false conclusions.

Er nai pu ta tsê t'ien ming see Gl. 1635. *Er naisie (yi) po t'ien ming* see Gl. 1804 and 1905. *Er nai tsī tso* etc. see Gl. 1905.

1924. *Wo wei shī k'ichan yao siu chī* 82.

A. PK'ung: »I because of this will *chan* make war upon *yao* (the important ones =) the leaders and *siu chī* imprison (their henchmen)». — B. K'ung Ying-ta has realized that this cannot be admissible and explains: »I because of this will *chan* attack, *yao* (sum up the case against =) try you and *siu* arrest you». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en follows B for *yao siu*, but takes *chan* 83 = 'to tremble' as a causative = 'to cause to tremble'; just as *kü* 84 'to fear' often causatively means 'to cause to fear, to frighten' (Tso *passim*), so *chan* here means 'to scare'. Thus: »I therefore will scare you, (sum up =) try you and arrest you». — D. Chang Ping-lin: *yao* 85 is loan char. for *yü* 86 'to bind', thus *yao siu* = »to bind and arrest you». *Chan* 83 = 87, whatever that may mean in this connection. — E. Wang Kuo-wei: since in Ode 204 Mao's version has *siu yao* 88 but Hia siao cheng has *siu yu* 89, which shows that a *yao* 85 could serve for a *yu* 90, our *yao siu* 91 here stands for *yu siu* 92 'to put in a dark prison' (a phr. occurring in Ts'ê: Ts'in 3). Yü Sing-wu, accepting this, adds that *chan* 83 probably is a wrong enlargement of an original *tan* 93, in the sense of 94 'to exhaust, all' (very common). Thus: »I will then put all of you in dark arrest». — F. Legge: »*chan* in trembling awe I *siu* secured and confined *yao* the chief criminals»; Couvreur: »*ego ita chan tremens yao vinxi(!) et siu detinui illos*». — All except K'ung Ying-ta and Ts'ai Ch'en (B, C) have disregarded the fact that in *yao siu*, a standing phrase occurring 4 times in the Shu, *yao* is a technical judicial term, well attested to mean: to summarize, sum up a charge, epitomize the essential points in a prosecution; we have it unambiguously in that sense in Chouli: Hiang shī and Fang shī (*passim*). Cf. K'ang kao 95 »Having *yao* (summed up =) tried *siu* a case of arrest, reflect upon it 5 or 6 days»; *ibid.* 96 »Grandly decide the (summed-up =) tried case of arrest». To fang (earlier): 97 »(Summing up =) trying the cases of arrest, they destroyed and put to death those who had many crimes». C is therefore essentially right but *yao siu* should not be two coördinated verbs, but form one phrase. Thus: »I will therefore put fear into you and for (summing up =) trial arrest you».

Nai yu pu yung wo kiang er ming see Gl. 1477. *Yu kao er yu fang to shī* see Gl. 1585.

1925. *Yüe wei yu sü po siao ta to cheng* 98.

A. PK'ung renders *sü po* 99 by 100 »(those who) *sü* mutually (i. e. together) *po* preside over (affairs)», an impossible construction. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *sü* 1 is common in titles of functionaries in the Chouli, and so is *po* 2. Indeed in T'ien kuan, under the various principal officers, we find subordinate officials, the lowest grades being *sü* 1 and *t'u* 3 (*sü* here simply meaning 'assistant', see Gl. 564). On the other hand, *sü* forms part of the titles of various more important officials, e. g. *Sü shī* 4, *Ta sü* 5, *Lü sü* 6, *Siang sü* 7. *Po* again occurs in titles like *Ta tsung po* 8, *Kung po* 9. Thus: »And the *sü* and *po* functionaries that there are, and the many *cheng* leaders, small and great». It is exceeding unlikely that these two categories of officials: *sü* and *po* should be singled out and addressed. — C. The Kin-wen version ap. Shang shu ta chuan reads: *yüe wei yu sü fu siao ta to cheng* 10. Cheng Hün, in comm. on Chouli: T'ien kuan, says that the lowest categories of functionaries: *sü* 1

and t' u 3 did labour service as a tax in kind, and f u 11 has this sense in Chouli: Ta si-ma. Thus: »Now, the many cheng ordinances, small and great, about s ü f u labour service for tax«. From Fu Sheng's comments it follows that he already had this idea about the meaning of s ü f u. But for such a sense of s ü there is no pre-Han support. The Mao Kung Ting inscr. has a phr. 12, which is obviously closely akin to our Kin-wen passage, strongly supporting it, and Sun Yi-jang rightly concludes that 13 is here merely a variant for s ü 1 (same phonetic in the characters). But when Tuan Yü-ts'ai says that p o 2 (*pāk) and f u 11 (*piwo) »anciently had the same sound«, he is very wrong. Yü Sing-wu tries to solve the riddle by identifying the p o 1 with a char. 14 or 15 in bronze inscriptions, which he thinks means the same as f u 11; it is, however, simply a variant of 16 p o (*b'āk) 'a gift, a present'. But none the less, Yü has led us into the right track. P o 1 of the Ku-wen version stands for p o 16 (i. e. the original char. was 17 without radical, and has been wrongly enlarged into 1 inst. of 16); this means 'a gift', just as f u 11 often means 'a contribution' from an inferior to a superior; cheng 18 means (= 19) 'an impost, an exaction' (of tax); that this is so is proved by the context: the combination with f u. S ü 1 (*sjo) is synonymous with the cognate 20 (*sju) and means 'to wait for' (see Gl. 790, with text examples). S ü p o = »(waited-for =) expected gifts« or s ü f u »(waited-for =) expected contributions« give much the same meaning. Cf. particularly Hanfei: Ch'i fen: 21 »they dare not (wait for =) expect rewards«. Thus our Shu sentence: »as to the (waited-for =) expected contributions (gifts) and the many exactions, small and large«.

1926. Er wang pu k' o nie 22.

A. PK'ung: »There are none of you who cannot (be lawful =) follow the law«. This meaning of nie 23 is definitely confirmed by K'ang kao 23 »In the external (court) affairs you should set forth those law items«, see Gl. 1641. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: nie = 24: »There are none of you who cannot do your work«. — C. »Kiang Sheng: k' o 25 = 26 and nie = 27, thus: »There are none (of the exactions) which you cannot manage nie the (norm =) amount of«.

1927. Er shang pu ki yü hiung tê 28.

A. PK'ung: »May you not hate (each other) (coming) into an evil disposition«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »May you not fear the evil disposition (of the people)«. — C. Shuowen quotes: 29 shang pu ki yü hiung tê »The superiors will not have aversion for you for your evil dispositions« (i. e. your earlier opposition). The A text can very well be interpreted in the same way. C in the oldest version attested and should be followed. — D. Yü Sing-wu thinks that 30 stands for k' i 31, an arbitrary loan speculation to no advantage.

1928. Yi tsê yi mu mu tsai nai wei 32.

A. PK'ung quite naturally: »Then also you will in a dignified way remain in your high positions«. — B. Kiang Sheng: yi 33 is the primary form of 34 and tsê 35 has its fundamental sense of 'law': »Sustaining the laws you will . . .«. This is certainly no improvement.

88. 約 87. 接 88. 秀 89. 秀 幽 90. 幽 91. 要 囚 92. 幽 囚 93. 單 94. 殫 95. 要 囚 服 念 五 六 日 96. 丕 蔽 要
囚 97. 要 囚 殫 戮 多 罪 98. 越 惟 有 胥 伯 小 大 多 正 99. 胥 伯 100. 相 長 事 1. 胥 2. 伯 3. 徒 4. 胥 師
5. 大 胥 6. 閭 胥 7. 象 胥 8. 大 宗 伯 9. 宮 伯 10. 越 維 有 胥 賦 小 大 多 政 11. 賦 12. 賦 小 大 楚 賦
13. 楚 14. 賁 15. 賁 16. 帛 17. 白 18. 正 19. 征 20. 頒 21. 不 敢 胥 賞 22. 爾 罔 不 克 臬 23. 臬 24. 外 事 汝 陳
時 臬 司 25. 事 26. 克 27. 任 28. 準 29. 爾 尚 不 忌 于 凶 德 30. 上 不 葦 于 凶 德 31. 期 32. 亦 則 以

1929. K'o yüe yü nai yi mou kie 36.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »If you can (cause me to) examine about your cities, (and find that) your mou plans are kie great«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »If you can (examine =) select in your city (sc. wise men) and mou plan for kie your assistants«. — C. Kiang Sheng follows B and modifies only the last words: »mou and plan for kie good (principles)«. — D. Sun Sing-yen accepts C for the last words, but says that 37 **dīwat* / *īwāt* / y ü e is loan char. for 38 in its reading 39 **dīwat* / *īwāt* / y ü e, which Mao Heng in comm. on Ode 14 defines as = 40 '(to submit =) to be satisfied, pleased'. In the same way our 37 serves for 38 = 39 'to like, to be pleased' in Ode 35, phr. 41 (Li and Tso quote 42), see Gl. 97. For the first part this is obviously right. But in mou kie the mou has its sense of '(to plan for =) to endeavour' discussed in Gl. 1728. Thus: »You can be (pleased =) satisfied in your cities, and endeavour to assist (me)«. We had kie in this sense a few lines earlier. — E. Chang Ping-lin: kie 43 ('boundary') here means 44 'to draw' and forms a binome with mou: »You can muster in your city mou kie your (plan-drawers =) councillors«. Very far-fetched.

1930. Wei k'i ta kie laier 45.

A. PK'ung takes kie 43 = 46 'great' (common), thus: »We will grandly and greatly reward you«. Yü Yüe points out that Shuowen has a char. kie 47 for 'great' (unknown in texts), which Yü means should be the correct graph for kie 43 in the sense of 'great'. The char. 47 being rare, ignorant copyists have dissolved it into ta kie 48. Ingenious; but Shuowen's unused characters certainly did not play such an important part in the transmission of the classical texts. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »We will greatly help and reward you«. Kie had that meaning earlier in our chapter, see Gl. 1922. — C. Sun Sing-yen: kie 43 = 'good' (i. e. 49, see Gl. 1922), thus: »We will in a greatly good way reward you«.

1931. Shang er shī 50.

A. PK'ung: »May you shī do your service«. — B. Kiang Sheng: »We will (make high your service =) give you high offices«. — B suits the context much better.

1932. Er yit sê wei pu k'o hiang, fan min wei yüe pu hiang 51.

We discussed the two closely cognate meanings of hiang 52: 'to enjoy' and 'to cause to enjoy' = 'to present' in Gl. 1914 and 1915. Our line follows upon: »If you cannot be (stimulated =) induced (to be faithful to =) faithfully to observe my commands«.

A. PK'ung: »You then cannot enjoy (Heaven's favour); the common people also will say that you do not enjoy (it)«. Sun Sing-yen, who wants hian g to mean the same as in the phr. hian g t'ien chī ming 53 »to enjoy Heaven's mandate« earlier in our chapter, follows PK'ung. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en has correctly seen that our line is in part a verbal repetition of a passage in Lo kao. There it was perfectly clear and recognized by all comm. that hian g 'to present' referred to the offerings brought as tribute by the feudatories to their suzerain. On this analogy, our line here will be: »(If you cannot . . . observe my commands), then likewise you cannot bring offerings (sc. as tribute to me, your suzerain), and (even) the common people will say: we bring no offerings«. Thus, here again as in Gl. 1915, hian g has its sense of 'to cause to enjoy': there = 'to give bounties to' (the people), here = 'to bring offerings to' (the prince). Kiang Sheng has in the main followed this, and it is undoubtedly right. Legge has modified this 'to bring offerings' into a more general 'to honour': »... we will not honour him«, and Cuvreur even worse: »... we will not obey«, which is very wide of the mark.

1933. T'an t'ien chī wei 54.

A. PK'ung says: t'an 55 = 56 'to take' (after Erya). The fundamental sense of the word is 'to lay the hand on', hence on the one hand 'to feel, to explore, to try', on the other 'to grasp and draw towards oneself', as in Sün: Kün tao 57 'to draw lots'. Thus

‘You will draw upon yourselves Heaven’s severity’. The same word (‘to grasp’) is wr. 58 (both *t’am) in Chouli: T’an jen. — B. Yü Sing-wu: 55 (minus the radical) is a corruption of mi 59, which, in Ode 305, Cheng Hün defines as = 60 ‘reckless, to brave, to take over one’s head’. But this interpr. of Cheng’s is wrong, see Gl. 1201; mi there means ‘to the full extent’. Mi t’ien chī wei ‘exhausting to the full Heaven’s severity’ would here be less good than A.

1934. Wo wei chī kao er ming 61.

A. PK’ung: ‘I reverently tell you my command’. Since this chī 62 ‘reverently’ makes poor sense, Legge tries to improve it: ‘in a spirit of awe’. — B. Kiang Sheng: chī is a grammatical word: ‘I only tell you my command.’ — C. Chī here (*tjar / tsi / chī) is but a variant for the chī (*tjar) ‘to effectuate’ which is variously written 63 (all *tjar, see Gl. 820) and is closely cognate to 64 (tjar / i / chī) ‘to effectuate’. Thus our chī k a o 65 ‘to make announcement’ here is the same as the chī k a o 66 in Wei tsī, and means the same as the 67 in P’an Keng; see in detail Gl. 1498. Thus: ‘I make announcement to you about my command’. (When PK’ung here takes ming to mean 68 ‘the lucky or unlucky fate’, and Sun Sing-yen takes it = 69 ‘Heaven’s charge’, they are both very unconvincing).

1935. Shī wei er ch’u pu k’o king yü ho 70.

A. PK’ung: ‘This (sc. removal) was because you in the beginning could not carefully observe the concord’. — B. Ts’ai Ch’en: ‘This is a new start for you; if you cannot carefully observe the concord...’. No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

Li cheng.

1936. Yung hien kie yü wang yüe 71.

A. PK’ung: (Using this, sc. occasion =) now hien about all he admonished the king and said. This is confirmed by the same use of hien later in our chapter: ‘I, Tan, the fine words I have received from others, all I report to you, young son and king’ 72. — B. Ts’ai Ch’en: ‘Thus all (the officers) admonished the king and said’. — C. Wang Sien-k’ien: yung 73 = 74; yi hien = ‘with all’, thus: ‘(Together) with all (sc. the officers), he admonished’ etc. — A is best supported by a par. in the same chapter.

1937. Ch’ang po, ch’ang jen, chun jen 75.

The commentators have diligently tried to identify these official titles with such from Ch’un ts’iu and later times, which, of course, is futile. That the third one: chun jen is a judicial office is underlined by the fact that the Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. inst. of chun jen read pi jen 76 ‘the law man’. PK’ung and subsequent comm. have taken these terms in the plural: ch’ang po ‘the permanent leaders’ means the san kung 77; ch’ang jen ‘the permanent (men in charge =) managers = liu k’ing 78 etc. But there is really nothing in the text to favour this: the paragraph discusses the small group of dominant men around the king. ‘The permanent leader’ must reasonably have been some kind of premier minister, etc. Yü Yüe has the

穆穆在乃位 33. 亦 34. 城 35. 則 36. 克 關於乃邑謀介 37. 閱 38. 說 39. 悅 40. 服 41. 我躬不閱 42. 不
說 43. 介 44. 盡 45. 惟其大介 費爾 46. 大 47. 奔 48. 大介 49. 价 50. 尚爾事 51. 爾亦則惟不克 享凡
民惟曰不享 52. 享 53. 享天之命 54. 探天之威 55. 探 56. 取 57. 探 58. 探 59. 探 60. 冒 61. 我惟祗
告爾命 62. 祗 63. 底底者指 64. 致 65. 祗告 66. 指告 67. 致告 68. 吉凶之命 69. 天命 70. 時惟爾勿
不克敬于和 71. 用威成于王曰 72. 威告孺子王矣 73. 用 74. 以 75. 常伯常人準人 76. 辟人 77.

excentric idea that these three officers are here addressed by Chou Kung, because »he dared not address the majestic one directly». Thus: »Oh, you attendants on the king, you permanent leader(s)» etc. A very futile attempt. Still more unreasonable is Sun Yi-jang's view that the line narratively enumerates those who together with Chou Kung admonished the king.

1938. Hiu tsī chī sū sien tsai 79.

A. PK'ung paraphrases hiu tsī by »These 5 are the base of the established government», which tells us very little. Wang Su says hiu 80 means mei 81 'fine', hiu tsī meaning: »(fine are these =) these (officers) are fine». PK'ung continues: »Those who (know =) understand anxiously to care about them are few». — B. Kiang Sheng: hiu good are tsī these (officers') chī (warning) informations, sū (to be anxious about =) to accept them sien is good». An absurd interpr. — C. Wang Sien-k'ien: »(Such who) hiu tsī find this fine but understand to be solicitous, are few». — D. Wang K'ai-yün: sien 82 = sī 83, thus: »Finding this beautiful, you should understand to be solicitous about this». But the idea that sien is equal to sī was refuted in Gl. 624, 1447. — E. Sun Yi-jang: We should compare this with a line in Shao kao: 84 »Unbounded is the grace (of Heaven), but also unbounded is the solicitude». We have the same antithesis of hiu and sū here. This is undoubtedly right. Thus: »In the grace (sc. of Heaven), those who understand to be solicitous are few».

1939. Ku chī jen ti wei yu Hia 85.

A. PK'ung punctuates after ti, taking this as a noun 'road, path': »As to the path (method) of the ancient men, (at the time of) the lord of Hia ...» etc. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en divides after jen: »Among the ancient men who (walked it =) pursued the (proper) course was the lord of Hia». Cf. P'an Keng 86 »inauspicious ones and such who do not (walk it =) pursue the (proper) course». — C. Pi Yi-t'ien: ti 87 is a »particle» simply to be skipped; this is proved by Erya which defines both 88 and 89 as = 90, and the former can be a particle, hence yu 89 can also be a particle, and hence, finally, ti 87, which has yu 89 for phonetic, can be a particle. This absurd argumentation has been accepted with approval by Wang Sien-k'ien.

1939. Yu shī ta king 91.

A. PK'ung: »The (possessors of houses =) feudal lords were very strong». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »(The house he had =) the royal house was very strong». No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

Yü tsün tsun shang ti see Gl. 1409. Mou mien yung p'ei hün tê see Gl. 1728. Tsī naisan tsê wu yijên see Gl. 1914.

1940. Kie tê weinaifu tso wang jen 92.

A. PK'ung: »Kie's (virtue =) character was (such) that he did not make the appointments of bygone times». Wang is common in this sense, e. g. Yi: Hi ts'ī 93 »He illustrates bygone times and explores future times»; Meng: Tsin sin, hia 94 »The past should not be (recovered =) inquired into», etc. — B. Chuang Shu-tsu: fu 95 is a short-form for fu 96 'to oppose' (it would be better to say with Sun Yi-jang: fu = 97 'offensive', see Gl. 1545, where we have a Shu case of 95 serving for 97). Chuang punctuates after this fu, and says wang jen 98 is the opposite to 99 permanent offices, meaning 100 'going, passing', thus: »Kie's (virtue =) character was offensive, he made (passing appointments =) appointments of short duration». Very far-fetched. Sun Yi-jang tries to save the latter part by interpreting wang 1 as = 2 »those»: »He made those appointments». But wang has no such meaning.

1941. Shī wei pao tê 3.

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en: »Those (sc. whom he employed) were (men of) a violent character». — B. Sun Sing-yen: the tê here refers to the tê earlier in the line: (Kie's tê character was such that ...), »that was a violent character».

1942. Wang hou 4.

A. PK'ung: »He had no successors» (his line was cut off). — B. Sun Sing-yen: »He had no (regard for) the (afterwards =) future». An arbitrary way of twisting the phrase. — C. In P'an Keng we had the line: kin k' i yu kin wang hou »Now there is a present, but no (afterwards =) future», where the meaning of hou, in the same phr. wang hou, is defined by its contrast to kin. We must try to render it in an analogous way here: »He had no (afterwards =) future» (sc. for his house).

1943. Yü e san yu tsün 5.

A. This is the PK'ung version, moreover confirmed by a quotation in Shuowen. Thus: »called the three holders of talents». — B. When the phr. san tsün recurs a few lines later, the stone classics of 175 A. D. have yu hui instead, which thus seems to have been the Kin-wen version. But Shuowen's testimony decides in favour of A.

1944. a. Yen wei p'ei shi k'o yung san tsê... 6.

b. Yung p'ei shi hien (kien) tê 7.

A. PK'ung: a. »(That he) was severe and could greatly shi be a model» etc. b. »He used this great model and displayed his virtue». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: a. »He was severe in his thinking and greatly shi imitated (them)» etc., sc. his ministers. b: »Through his great imitation (of the ministers) he displayed his wisdom». — C. Sun Sing-yen takes shi 8 as = 'to use, to employ' (common). He says, however, that p'ei 9 is a »particle», simply to be skipped, thus: »Severely he employed». This theory about p'ei should be decidedly declined, and Sun's line should have to be modified into: a. »Severely he grandly employed» etc. But in order to carry through this in b, Sun has to read 10 not hien but kien, and construe: »(the people in the four quarters) yung through shi his employing (methods) kien tê saw his virtue», which is exceedingly forced. — D. Sun Yi-jang says that shi 8 stands for chi 11, which means 12, whatever that may mean in these contexts. — E. Another interpr. Shi 8 is simply a particle, as so often in Shi and Shu, see Gl. 1744 with further references. Thus: a. »(Severely =) in a strict way he was grandly able to use the three (men in the) positions, the three (men of) talents». b. (Those in the four quarters) thus grandly saw his virtue».

1945. K' i tsai Shou tê min 13.

A. PK'ung believes that tê forms part of the name: »When (it rested with =) the turn came to Shou-tê, he was impetuous» (for min see Gl. 95). — B. Ma Jung: »When the turn came to Shou, tê min his character was impetuous». The name was simply Shou, see Mu shi.

1946. Ti k' in fa chi 14.

A. PK'ung: k' in 15 = 16, thus: »God respectfully punished him». This nonsense has been repeated through centuries. Some authors have tried to save themselves by some twisting of the rendering: Kiang Sheng: k' in = king = 17 »Heaven (respectfully = not lightly =) ponderously punished him». Legge: »Heaven (commanding respect

三公 78. 六卿 79. 休茲知 恤鮮哉 80. 休 81. 美 82. 鮮 83. 斯 84. 無疆惟休亦無疆惟恤 85. 古之人
迪惟有夏 86. 不吉不迪 87. 迪 88. 適 89. 由 90. 自 91. 有室大競 92. 桀德惟乃弗作往任 93. 彰往
而察來 94. 往者不追 95. 弗 96. 拂 97. 弗 98. 往任 99. 常任 100. 但 1. 往 2. 彼 3. 是惟暴德 4. 罔後
5. 曰三有俊 6. 嚴惟丕式克用三宅 7. 用丕式見德 8. 式 9. 丕 10. 見 11. 職 12. 主 13. 其在受
德啓 14. 帝欽罰之 15. 欽 16. 敬 17. 重 18. 厥 19. 興 20. 嚴 21. 錢 22. 又 23. 戈 24. 越 25. 西伯既錢黎 26.

=) sovereignly punished him». — **B.** Sun Sing-yen: K'in 15 is short-form for hin 18, Erya = 19, thus: »God (started =) set about to punish him». But hin is = 19 in the sense of 'to set forth, display', not 'to start'. — **C.** Chuang Shu-tsu: 15 *k'iam is a loan char. for 20 *ngiam 'severely' because of phonetic similarity; very unlikely. — **D.** Another interpr. K'in 15 is a corruption of 21, the phonetics to the left being similar in shape and homophonous (both *kiam). The insertion of a wrong radical (here 22 for 23) is exceedingly common in the Han-time transcriptions of the ancient texts. The 21 *k'am / k'am / k'an 'to pierce, to kill, to vanquish' is a variant of 24, and it occurs in the oldest text versions of the Shu chapter Si po k'an Li (25), see Gl. 1493. Here, as there, the word is used about a ruler who is destroyed. Our line should therefore be emended into: ti k'an fa chi 26 »God (killingly punished =) punished him by death».

1947. Naip'eng wo yu Hia shi Shang shou ming 27.

A. PK'ung: »And so it (sc. Heaven) caused us to possess the Hia (realm) (sc. the Chinese-speaking lands) and (use =) hold the mandate which the Shang had received». — **B.** Chuang Shu-tsu: the char. hia 28 is a corruption of the graphically similar hui 29 (!) and yu hui 30 refers to the san yu hui of the Kin-wen version of few lines earlier, see Gl. 1943. Chuang punctuates after shi Shang »to take Shang as a pattern». All extremely unlikely. — **C.** Chang Ping-lin would read p'ing 31 inst. of p'eng 32 (this after the Sung-time work K'un king yin pien), and he thinks that shi 33 is wrong for tai 34 (same phonetic). Thus: »It gave peace to us possessors of Hia (i. e. Chou), to succeed to the mandate received by the Shang». This is certainly no improvement.

Yen tien wan sing — for yen 35, not: 'to tranquillize' but: 'extensively', see Gl. 827. — For cho kien 36, Shouwen var. 37, see Gl. 678.

1948. Hu pen chuei yi ts'ou ma siao yin tso yu hi p'u po si shu fu ta tu siao po yi jen piao ch'en po si t'ai shi yin po shu ch'ang ki shi 38.

The commentators have tried assiduously to identify these various titles with such in later Chou sources, a rather futile task. Most of them are undefinable. Hu pen is well known as the royal guards. Ts'ou ma 39 is a title known from Ode 193, but there it is evidently one of the highest offices, hence by me translated »master (director) of the horse», as an equivalent of the ordinary si ma 4. In our Shu chapter here it cannot mean that (si ma follows in the next line), and the ts'ou ma is obviously here a petty officer (mentioned in Chouli): *verbatim* »the one who makes the horses run», i. e. 'equerry'. The principal point on which there is dissention is whether all the syllables, two and two, are parts of titles (except tso yu hi p'u, where the 4 syllables are obviously one phr.), or some are not:

a. Siao yin 41. **A.** PK'ung takes this as predicate to the preceding: »The hu pen (chief of) the tiger braves, the chuei yi stitcher of garments, the ts'ou ma equerry siao yin were smaller functionaries». This has the advantage of making the clause complete. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en coördinates the siao yin with the preceding three, defining it as = »the chief of the petty officers»; then he has to supply some introductory words: »(There were further) the hu pen, the chuei yi, the ts'ou ma and the siao yin». Sun Sing-yen guesses that the latter is simply a groom. All this is mere conjecture. — **C.** Wang Sien-k'ien: »(There were) the hu pen, the chuei yi, the ts'ou ma and their siao yin petty underlings». — **D.** Liu Feng-lu on the contrary: all the three categories included a great number of men, and siao yin were their leaders: »The small chiefs of the tiger braves, the stitchers of garments, the equeries and their leaders».

β. Po si shu fu 42. **A.** Wang Su and PK'ung take this as one phrase: shu fu »all the repository-keepers of po si the various officers». — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: po si refers to such as Chouli's si k'iu 43 »caretaker of furs», si fu 44 »caretaker of gar-

ments» etc., thus: »the (hundred =) many caretakers and numerous repository-keepers». — C. Liu Feng-lu punctuates after *sī*: *tso yu hi p'u po sī*: »the carriers and attendants of left and right were *po sī* (hundred =) many officers». This balances nicely the *siao yin* in the preceding line, both being the predicates in their clauses. Liu then has to carry *shu fu* together with the following.

γ. *Ta tu siao po 45*. A. PK'ung: »The (small leaders =) captains of the great cities». — B. Lü Tsu-k'ien: »*ta tu* the (captains of) big cities and *siao po* the captains of small (cities)», an absurd expl., accepted by Ts'ai Ch'en (and Legge, Couvreur).

δ. *Yi jen piao ch'en po sī*. A. PK'ung takes *yi jen piao ch'en* as apposition to the preceding: »(The captains of the big feudal cities) who were *piao ch'en* (signalized =) distinguished servants by being *yi jen* talented men, and (further) *po sī* the various officers; an impossible construction. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »*yi jen* men of arts (soothsayers, magicians etc.) and *piao ch'en po sī* the many officials who were outside servants (outside the capital)». — C. Liu Feng-lu: *yi jen piao ch'en* means 'censors': *piao* exposing *ch'en* servants who are *yi jen* skilled, of literary education, learned. Here again *po sī* is the predicate: »The learned censors are (hundred =) many officers». *Piao* in the sense of 'to signalize' is well attested, but in early texts hardly in the sense of 46 'to remonstrate'. But Liu is right in construing his phrase. In Tso: Wen 6 a lecturer discourses precisely on the subject of how the ancient kings selected worthy men as their assistants, and there we find *inter alia*: 47 »They set out for them the *yi ki* norms of accomplishments, led them on to the *piao yi* (display and deportment =) decorum». Here we have exactly the same combination of *yi* 48 'accomplishments' and *piao* 49 'display, decorum' as in our Shu passage, and the Tso author has certainly had the latter in mind. Thus, with Liu, *yi jen piao ch'en* is one phrase, a designation of some category of functionaries: »The accomplished directors of decorum were (hundred =) officers». — D. Yü Yü: *yi* 48 is an enlarged form of 50, and this is but a short-form of *sie* 51 'familiar', and our (*yi* =) *sie jen* here is the same as the *sie yü* 52 »personal attendant» in Ode 194, cf. Gl. 1265. Yü Sing-wu, accepting this, adds that *piao ch'en* probably is a corruption of *feng jen* 53 »keeper of boundaries» (frontier guard), because *feng* in a bronze inscription occurs wr. 54, a highly insufficient argument. — D (Yü Yü) is tempting, but C, in its modified form, has such a strong confirmation in the Tso passage that it should be preferred. Indeed the constellation of *yi* 48 'art, accomplishment' and *piao* 49 'exterior, display' is so significant as to be conclusive.

ε. *T'ai shī yin po shu ch'ang ki shī*. A. PK'ung coördinates thus: »The great scribes, the *yin po* chiefs of the functionaries, *shu ch'ang ki shī* all the permanently (working) officers». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »The great scribes and the chiefs of the functionaries; *shu* all were *ki shī* good officers *ch'ang* of constant (virtue)». — C. Liu feng-lu: *t'ai shī* and *yin po* should reasonably be connected: »The grand scribe and the chiefs of secretaries (teach) the many fine officers of a constant virtue». It is, of course, not allowable to supply the verb 'teach' in this way. — D. Availing ourselves of Liu's (C) good principal idea, we obtain: »The grand scribe and the chiefs of secretaries were several permanent auspicious (i. e. fit for taking oracle) officers».

Selecting the most plausible of the preceding we have, for phr. 38: »The (chief of the)

帝錢罰之²⁷乃倅我有夏式商受命²⁸夏²⁹會³⁰有會³¹平³²倅³³式³⁴代³⁵奄³⁶灼見³⁷
³⁷焯見³⁸虎賁綴衣趣馬小尹左右攜僕百司庶府大都小伯藝人表臣百司太史尹伯
 庶常吉士³⁹趣馬⁴⁰司馬⁴¹小尹⁴²百司庶府⁴³司裘⁴⁴司服⁴⁵大都小伯⁴⁶諫⁴⁷陳之

tiger braves, the stitcher of garments, the equerry were smaller functionaries; the carriers and attendants of left and right were (hundred =) many officers; the depository-keepers, the captains of the great cities, and the accomplished (ministers =) directors of decorum were (hundred) many officers; the grand scribe and the chiefs of the secretaries were several permanent auspicious (i. e. fit for taking oracle) officers».

1949. *Yi wei lu cheng san po fan yin* 55.

A. PK'ung: *cheng* 56 means 57 'leader of the multitude'. *Cheng* is common meaning 'a crowd, numerous', and since Erya says that *cheng* = *kün* 58 ('majestic', see Gl. 1151), PK'ung tries thus to reconcile these two meanings. He paraphrases: «For *cheng* chiefs of the Yi (barbarians) and of Wei and Lu, and for the (inspectors of) the three Po, and for the *yin* governors of *fan* the hilly regions (they used wise men)». This is not reconcilable with the text. Kiang Sheng modifies: «For Wei and Lu of the Yi (tribes) there were *cheng* princes, and for the three Po (cities) there were hill-governors». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en believes that *cheng* was a place name: «For the Yi-barbarians of Wei, Lu and Cheng, for the three Po and for the *fan* (slopes =) hill regions *yin* there were governors». — C. Yü Yüe would have not only Cheng but also Fan and Yin to be place-names (these words all occur as place names in Tso): «The Yi (barbarians) were Wei, Lu, Cheng, the three Po, Fan and Yin». This, however, makes no sense in the context. — A in Kiang's formulation would be preferable, if *cheng* could be proved to mean 'prince', but we only know it as an adjective: 'majestic'. Hence B seems safest.

1950. *Wen Wang wei k'o küe tsê sin* 59.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 60 «Wen Wang was able *tsê* to (settle =) apply his heart (to eliminating the bad and promoting the good); with *küe* placed after *k'o*, we should then have to say more precisely: «*k'o* he was capable of *küe* his *tsê sin* applying the heart to» etc. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «Wen Wang (could = mastered =) fully knew the hearts of *küe tsê* his (men in the) positions». *K'o* in this sense is strained. — C. It is better to take *tsê* as a verb, just as earlier in the chapter: *tsê nai mu* 61 «put in the position your pastor» etc. Thus: «He (was capable of =) could exercise his (positioning =) nominating mind». — D. The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read: *Wen Wang wei küe* 62 *to sin*. This could, in fact, be interpreted in two ways. Either: «Wen Wang with his (measuring =) comprehending heart» (to being attribute to *sin*): or: «Wen Wang with his (measuring =) comprehending of the hearts». This latter is analogous to K'ang kao: 63 «comprehend their hearts and understand their instructions». Since the graphs *tsê* 64 (**d'äk*) and 65 (**d'äk*) are quite freely interchangeable in the Han versions of the classics (65 **d'äk* used for 64 **d'äk* in Ode 244, phr. 66, Ts'i version ap. Li: Fang ki [Mao: 67], and 64 **d'äk* serving for 65 **d'äk*, in Yü kung 68, and particularly in the K'ang kao ex. above, cf. also Gl. 794), we can either say that here in Li cheng the A version (Ku-wen) *tsê sin* 69 is correct and that *D to sin* 70 is a phonetic loan for the former; or *vice versa*. The choice is indeed difficult. For the former speaks the fact that all through this chapter we have *tsê* 64 in the sense of 'position, to put in a position' and that the *k'o* 72 which exists in the A version but is lacking in D, recurs later in our chapter where we have *k'o tsê ch'i* 71. These two reasons, taken together, would seem to be decisive. But D has a strong support in the identical phr. in K'ang kao: *to sin*, and it is on the whole more simple and natural. And it is easily understandable that a *k'o* 72 could have been wrongly inserted on the analogy of the next line which starts with *nai k'o li* 73. In this difficult choice, we had better follow the earliest attested version (D).

1951. *Nai k'o li ts'i ch'ang sh'i si mu jen* 73.

A. PK'ung as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: «He could establish these *ch'ang sh'i* permanent offices and *si* offices for *mu jen* the (pastoring =) nourishing of

the people». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *ch'ang shī* is the «permanent manager» above, and the *sī mu jen* is equal to the *mu* 74 «pastor» above, and the third (the *chun jen* «law man») is left out simply by abbreviation. Thus: «He could nominate these (officials) the permanent manager and the *sī mu jen* pastor in office». — C. Liu Feng-lu insists that this line should register all the three executives 75 (see a few lines earlier). If so, *ch'ang shī* is the «permanent manager», *mu jen* is the «pastor» and the word *sī* 76 alone would correspond to the 77 «law man». This is not very satisfactory, and is rendered quite inadmissible through a phr. in the next line: *yu sī chī mu fu* 78 «pastor (having office =) in office», which, showing conclusively that *sī* in our line 73 is simply an attribute to *mu jen*, confirms B.

1952. *Yi k'o tsün yu tē* 79.

A. PK'ung: «Thereby he could make great those who had virtue». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en coördinates the words: «so that they could be great and virtuous (men)». — C. Kiang Sheng: *yi* 80 = 90: «He employed such who could be great and virtuous». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr. (A).

1953. *Wen Wang wang yu kien yü shu yen shu yü shu shen wei yu sī chī mu fu shī hūn yung wei* 91.

A. PK'ung: «Wen Wang had nothing wherein he (combined, sc. the tasks of others with his own, i. e.) interfered; (in regard to) the many talks (slander or praise), the many lawsuits, the (many things to beware of for the people =) prohibitions, there was only (the choice of) a pastor in office; whether those (sc. the people) *hūn* were docile or (used =) committed transgressions» etc. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «Wen Wang had no case in which he (combined =) interfered in *shu yen* the many proclamations, the many lawsuits, the many prohibitions; only in regard to the *yu sī* functionaries and *mu fu* pastors, those he instructed about *yung* the (using =) obeying (sc. his orders) or *wei* transgressing». — C. Liu Feng-lu thinks that *shu yen* «the many talks» refers to the criticism and praise addressed to the sovereign, and that *shu shen* means «ordinances about taxes». — D. Yü Yüe punctuates after *yen*, and believes that *kien* 92 means 93 'to cut off' (his reasons for this are entirely faulty). «W. did not (cut off =) stop the many speeches (made to him); and as to the many lawsuits etc.» — E. Sun Yi-jang proposes that *shu yen* was a title, meaning censor, *shu yü* criminal judge and *shu shen* keeper of laws and regulations. Very speculative. Still more so is the idea of Yü Sing-wu's that *shen* 94 (**ǎǎn*) is loan char. for *sin* 95 (**ǎǎn*) 'to interrogate'. — F. Another interpr. In spite of the fact that the three phr. *shu yen shu yü shu shen* appear to be an enumeration, Yü Yüe is right in dividing after *yen*; *shu yen* has nothing to do with the following *shu yü*, *shu shen*, which recur twice in the following lines without any *shu yen* there. *Kien* 92 is a short-form for 96 *k'ien* 'dissatisfied, displeased' (common). The line ends with *shī hūn* 97, and *yung wei* belongs to the following line: 98. Thus: «Wen Wang (had nothing wherein he was displeased =) was never displeased with the many speeches (addressed to him, i. e. he did not retaliate);

藝極引之表儀⁸⁸藝⁸⁹衣⁹⁰執⁹¹智⁹²智御⁹³封人⁹⁴歲⁹⁵君微盧烝三毫阪尹⁹⁶烝⁹⁷
衆卿⁹⁸君⁹⁹文王惟克厥宅心¹⁰⁰文王惟其能居心¹⁰¹(遠惡舉善)¹⁰²宅乃牧¹⁰³文王惟厥度
心¹⁰⁴宅厥心知訓¹⁰⁵宅¹⁰⁶度¹⁰⁷是鎬京¹⁰⁸宅是¹⁰⁹三危既宅¹¹⁰宅心¹¹¹克宅之¹¹²
克¹¹³乃克立茲常事司牧人¹¹⁴牧¹¹⁵三事¹¹⁶司¹¹⁷準人¹¹⁸有司之牧夫¹¹⁹以克俊有德¹²⁰
以¹²¹用¹²²文王罔攸兼于庶言庶獄庶慝惟有司之牧夫是訓用違¹²³兼¹²⁴絕¹²⁵慝¹²⁶

the many legal prosecutions and the many prohibitions, the pastor in office gave instructions about them; thus he kept aloof from the many prosecutions and the many prohibitions; Wen Wang dared not take any cognizance of them». For wei 99 'to go away from, be distant from, keep aloof from, keep off' (very common) cf. Tso: Min 2, phr. 100 »It is best to (go away from =) keep off from it»; Li: Chung yung 1 »He is distant from the Way . . .».

Yi yüe Wu wang 2 could mean: »and when it passed on to Wu Wang», cf. Gl. 1612; but yüe may here just as well be the common particle: »And Wu Wang . . .».

Shuai wei mikung see Gl. 1600, cf. also Gl. 1406.

1954. Pu kan t'i küe yi tê 3.

A. PK'ung: »He dared not (set aside =) discard his (Wen Wang's) righteous virtue». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »He dared not set aside the (men of a) righteous virtue». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

Shuai wei mou — for some unacceptable speculations about shuai see Gl. 1406.

Yi ping shou ts'i p'ei p'ei ki see Gl. 1607. Wang Yin-chi has an eccentric speculation that 4 (*b'ieŋ) stands for 5 (6 *p'o), because »anciently they were similar in sound»(!).

1955. Ch'i küe jo p'ei nai pei (luan =) si 7. Luan 8 should here be read si (9), see Gl. 1464.

A. PK'ung: küe is a partitive genitive: küe jo = 10, thus: »(We should) know the suitable ones and grandly let them govern». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Know what they (agree with =) find their peace in». Very much inferior to A. — C. Chuang Tsung-po: since p'ei 11 and fou 12 both originally were wr. 13, we should here read ch'i küe jo fou, on the analogy of Ode 260, phr. 14 pang kuo jo fou, see Gl. 1021. — C is very tempting; but we have some close par. to the p'ei nai . . . 15 of A in the Shu itself: P'an Keng: p'ei nai kan 16 »grandly can one dare»; *ibid.* p'ei nai kiang 17; *ibid.* p'ei nai kao 18. This speaks in favour of A.

1956. Sh'i tsê wu yu kien chi 19.

A. PK'ung (after Erya): kien 20 = 21: »Then let there be nobody who supersedes them». Kien frequently means 'interval', hence also 'intermittent' and 'to alternate, take the place of'. We had this sense unambiguously in To fang: 22 »a (possessor of a state =) feudal prince superseded him». — B. Legge translates: »Never allow others to come between (us and them)»; Couvreur: »Nous ne permettons à personne de leur faire obstacle». Both interpr. are based on kien in the sense of 'interstice, to be between'. — C. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: Ming yü) quotes 23. Wang takes this to mean (with wu 24 'thing' meaning 25 'disaster'): »Sometimes (disastrous) things will (be intermittent =) crop up». But of course, if 24 was the original Shu version, it could have a quite different purport: »Thus, the things (have that which makes them intermittent =) occur intermittently», may refer to the idea that good men are not always available and should be employed when they occur. But however we construe this version, it is not so natural and good in the context as A, which moreover has a good Shu parallel.

1957. Ts'i yi hua yi yen wo tsê mo wei ch'eng tê chi yen 26.

A. PK'ung: »It (comes from =) depends on one word, one phrase (i. e. every word of the ruler should be good), then we mo to the end (have) the beauty of a perfected virtue». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »(During the space of =) even for the short time of a phrase, a word, we shall to the end wei think of yen fine (men) of a perfected virtue». Ts'ai paraphrases: 27, which is highly curious; even more so is Legge, who says: »In our every word and speech, let us be thinking» etc. How can ts'i 28 mean 'in'? — C. Wang Sien-k'ien proposed that hua means a discourse held in front of the king, and yen means the

pronouncement of the king himself. This may be too bold, but surely Wang is right in so far that *h u a y e n* refers to the preliminary deliberation on the topic of the selection of men for office in the new government, which is the subject of the whole chapter. Thus: «From (one word uttered =) the first word and the first speech, all to the end we shall think of fine (men) of a perfected virtue».

1958. *Shou jen chi huei yen* 29.

A. This is PK'ung's version: «The fine words I have received from others». — B. The Kin-wen version ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read 30. The phr. *wei yen* 31, which occurs e. g. in *Han shu*: *Yi wen chi*, need not (with *Yen Shi-ku*) mean 'subtle words', for *wei* 32 may simply be a loan char. either for *huei* in A above, or for 33 'fine, beautiful' (variant of 34, occurring in *Chouli*).

1959. *Wen ts'i wen sun k'i wu wu* 35.

A. PK'ung: «May (you), Wen (wang's) descendant not err», thus simply ignoring the repetition of *wen*. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «May-you, accomplished son (of Wu Wang), accomplished grandson (of Wen Wang), not err». — C. Kiang Sheng, with a view to a passage in *Shi ki*: *Wai k'i shi kia*, interprets: 36 «descendant who keeps up the refinement (of the predecessors)»; this, of course, cannot possibly be read into the wording of our *Shu* line. *Wei cheng shi yi chi* see Gl. 539.

1960. *Tsê k'o tsê chi k'o yu yi chi* 37.

A. PK'ung believes that the line refers to the method of the sages, he defines *tsê chi* 38 as = 39 'to place it' (in the heart); he says (after Mao on the Odes but erroneously, see Gl. 200) *yu* 40 = 41, and he renders *yi* 42 by 43 'to display, set forth'; thus: «They could place [sc. the good method] (in the heart), and they could *yu* thereby set it forth». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en refers the line to the selected high officials. He takes *yu* 40 as a short-form for 44 *ch'o u* 'to draw out the thread from a cocoon, unreal'. The binome *ch'o u yi* 45 is known from *Han shu*: *Ku Yung chuan* but not earlier; *ch'o u* 44 does not exist in pre-Han texts, but it is really etym. id. with the common *ch'o u* 46 'draw out'. Thus: «They could put them (sc. the dignitaries) in the (high) positions, they could (draw them out, unfold them =) unfold their talents». The Kin-wen version, however (ap. *Yü hai*: *Yi wen chi k'ao*) had (besides 47 for 48, as usual, the two graphs being interchangeable) inst. of 49 the reading 50, which testifies against interpr. B. — C. Sun Sing-yen: *yi* 42 is a loan char. for 51 which *Shuowen* alternatively defines as = 52 'to end'. Thus: «They could put (them) in the positions, they could *yu* thereby end (the business)». We stated in Gl. 1704 and 1714 that there are no safe text ex. of 51 in this sense. Wang K'ai-yün believes that 42 is a loan char. for *shi* 53 «they could thereby (themselves) relax» (leaving the work to the ministers). *Yü Sing-wu*, on the other hand, thinks that 42 is a loan char. for *tsê* 54: «they could thereby select them» (*yu* = 41,

訊 6. 懷 7. 足 訓 98. 用 達 庶 獄 庶 謨 文 王 罔 取 知 于 茲 99. 達 100. 不 如 達 之 1. 達 道 2. 亦 越 武
王 3. 不 敢 替 厥 義 德 4. 竝 5. 替 6. 善 7. 知 厥 若 丕 乃 俾 亂 8. 亂 9. 司 10. 其 順 者 11. 丕 12. 否
13. 不 14. 邦 國 若 否 15. 丕 乃 16. 丕 乃 取 17. 丕 乃 降 18. 丕 乃 告 19. 時 則 勿 有 閒 之 20. 閒 21. 代 22.
有 邦 閒 之 23. 時 則 勿 有 閒 之 24. 物 25. 災 物 26. 自 一 話 一 言 我 則 未 惟 成 德 之 彥 27. 自 一 話 一
言 之 閒 28. 自 29. 受 人 之 微 言 30. 受 前 人 之 微 言 31. 微 言 32. 微 33. 微 34. 美 35. 文 子 文 孫 其 勿
誤 36. 守 文 之 子 孫 37. 則 克 宅 之 克 由 繹 之 38. 宅 之 39. 居 之 於 心 40. 由 41. 用 42. 繹 43. 陳 44. 絢
45. 絢 繹 46. 絢 47. 度 48. 宅 49. 由 繹 50. 繹 繹 51. 數 52. 終 53. 繹 54. 擇 55. 繹 56. 壬 午 繹 57. 王 由 足

as above). — D. Instead of all these loan char. speculations we should reconsider the meaning of the transmitted graph *y i* 42. This word is common in the sense of 'to draw out' = 'to prolong, continue'. *Y u* 40 (**djôg*) often serves as loan char. for 55 (**zjôg*), e. g. Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, *hia* 57 »The king is still one who may be used for doing good«. The binome *y u y i* 50 'still to continue, to prolong' occurs in Li: T'an Kung 2: »When Chung Suei died 56, on the day *j e n w u* one *y u - y i* continued (the sacrifice)«. It seems evident that it is this binome which we have in our Shu line. In the Kin-wen version we have it properly written 50, in the Ku-wen wr. 49 with the loan of 40 for 55 just mentioned. The idea expressed is analogous to one given a few lines earlier. There we had: »When we establish the government and nominate . . . we should . . . grandly let them govern . . . then let there be nobody who supersedes them«. Here this sequence of ideas recurs, only differently expressed, and referring to past ages: »They could put them in the (high) positions, and they could *y u y i c h i* (prolong, continue them =) let them continue«. This parallelism is conclusive.

Wang *y u l i c h e n g* etc. see Gl. 1428.

1961. Shī wang hien tsai k'ue shī 58.

Both PK'ung, Ts'ai Ch'en and many followers refer this to the king; but it obviously refers to the choice of officers, as the whole passage: »(Those who were not docile in their virtue) those were not illustrious (sc. through high office) in their generation«. The stone classics of 175 A. D. had 59 inst. of 60, a mere graphical variant (both orig. 61). Chuang Shu-tsu has the curious idea that *tsai k'ue shī* should mean 62 »(to end their life?)«. This is based on Erya *tsai* 60 = 63, but of this there are no text ex.

1962. K'i k'o k'ier jung ping 64.

A. Ma Jung says *k'i* 65 = 66. This being a very enigmatical gloss, Sun Sing-yen reminds that Kuangya has *k'i* = 67 and that Tso: Chao 14 has 68 »to control the perverse and wicked«, on which Tu Yü: *k'i* = 69 'blamingly interrogate', i. e. to examine and discipline, restrain, keep under control. Sun proposes that the transmitted Ma gloss *shī* 70 is a corruption of *tsê* 67, which is plausible. The fundamental meaning of *k'i* is 'to interrogate, to question' (very common, Tso, Li etc. *passim*) and the extended meaning 'to restrain, to control' is quite well attested, e. g. Shu: Lü hing: *y i k' i s i f a n g* 71 »in order to control the (people of) the four quarters«. This latter meaning not being applicable here, the ordinary one seems most natural »May you be able to (inquire about =) examine your weapons«. — B. PK'ung: *k'i* 65 = 72, thus: »May you be able to arrange well your weapons«. This is a typical scholastic trick, playing on the double meanings of *ch i*. *K'i* means *ch i* 72 in the sense of 'to control, restrain' (see Lü hing above), but this does not entail that it can mean *ch i* 72 in its sense of 'to arrange'. — C. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen commit a similar trick. In comm. on Chouli: *Ta s i k'ou*: *k' i s i f a n g* 73 (same phr. as in Lü hing above) Cheng Hün says *k'i* = 74. This *kin* here obviously means (causative:) 'to make careful', i. e. 'to restrain, to control', and has been so understood by all later expounders. But Kiang and Sun apply this gloss *k'i* = *kin* with the other meaning of *kin*: 'to be careful', thus here: »May you be able to be careful about your weapons«. *K'i* certainly can have no such sense. — We might add that in the Lü hing passage quoted, Wang K'ai-yün interprets *k'i* 65 as = *k i* 75 'good' »(to benefit the four quarters)«, a very arbitrary speculation; and that a variant *kao* 76 for *k'i* 65 (ap. comm. on Chouli: *Ta s i k'ou*) is merely a graphic corruption. Fang hing t'ien hia see Gl. 1234.

1963. Wang *y u p u f u* 77.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 78 »There being nobody who does not submit (to your civilizing influence)«. — B. The nuance is surely somewhat different. The preceding line speaks of warlike expeditions all over the world and stepping into the footsteps of Yü. Now

Yü had, by his expeditions, established *kiu fu* 79 nine dependencies, zones of subjects. The word *fu* 80 'to submit' here clearly alludes to this, and we had better translate: 'There being nothing which does not submit as dependency'.

1964. *Yi kin Wen Wang chi keng kuang* 81.

A. This is PK'ung's (Ku-wen) version: 'So that you (make seen =) display Wen Wang's bright virtue'. — B. The Kin-wen version ap. *Shang shu ta chuan* read: 82. It is evident that the original graph was 83, without radical (Chou fashion), and that this has been filled out into 84 by the Ku-wen scholars, into 85 by the Kin-wen scholars. The latter suits the context badly. *Sien* 86 'fresh' means 'bright' in Ode 241, phr. 87 'the freshly-bright plain', thus giving the same idea as the *keng* 88 of A.

Yi yang Wu wang chi ta lie see Gl. 1349.

1965. *K'i wei k'o yung ch'ang jen*.

A. PK'ung and most following comm.: *ch'ang jen* 'constant men' means 89 'men of a constant virtues'. — B. *Yü Yüe*: *ch'ang jen* 90 here means the same as the *ki shi* 91 'auspicious officers' some lines earlier. For this he refers, on the one hand to *Kao Yao mo* 92 'Displaying his constant norms, he is auspicious indeed'; on the other hand to *Yili*: *Shi yü li*, where the phr. *ch'ang shi* 93 in *Cheng Hsuan's* comm. is said to have had a Ku-wen variant *siang shi* 94 (Yü adding that 95 [**dziang*] and 96 [**dziang*] were similar in sound). — C. *Wang K'ai-yün*: 'permanent men' means officials who stay long in office. This is amply confirmed by the beginning of the chapter (97 etc.) and several later passages ('let there be nobody who supersedes them'; 'they could let them continue').

1966. *Si k'ou Su kung shi king er yu yü... ts'i shi yü shen* 98.

A. PK'ung: 'The director of crimes, prince of Su, *shi* 99 followed the law; be careful about the prosecutions which you *yu* 100 (use =) handle... This law (has something to be careful about =) should be carefully observed'. — B. *Ts'ai Ch'en* renders the first *shi* 99 by *yung* 1 'to use' (common), the second *shi* by *fa* 2 'pattern', and he imagines that *er* 3 'your' could stand for *k'i* 4 'his', for he paraphrases: 5 'The prince of Su in (using =) handling (them) could be careful about the prosecutions which he (followed up =) attended to... *ts'i shi* take this as pattern and have care'. *Ch'en Ta-yü* (late Sung) would amend the inconsistency about *shi* and construes (still taking *er* = *k'i*): 'The prince of Su *shi* used the (proper) pattern and was careful about the prosecutions he followed up... take this as pattern and have care'. — C. *Kiang Sheng*: '(According to) *Su Kung's shi* rule, be careful about the prosecutions you (use =) handle... in regard to this rule *yu shen* have (particular) care'. This is grammatically admissible, but in contents rather nonsensical. — D. *Legge* takes *king er* 6 as an adverbial phrase, and has the same inconsistency about *shi* as *Ts'ai* in B above. — E. It stands to reason that if *Chou Kung* here adduces the prince of Su, it is because he was a venerable pattern or model, and that *ts'i shi* should be interpreted 'him you should take as model' with *ts'i* placed in an emphatic position before the verb, just as *shi* in Ode 2, phr. 7. In

用為善 58 是罔顯于厥世 59 哉 60 在 61 才 62 終厥世 63 終 64 其克詰爾戎兵 65 詰 66 實 67
責 68 詰姦慝 69 責問 70 實 71 以詰四方 72 治 73 詰四方 74 謹 75 吉 76 詰 77 罔有不服 78 無
不服化者 79 九服 80 服 81 以觀文王之取光 82 以勤文王之鮮光 83 董 84 觀 85 勤 86 鮮 87
鮮原 88 耿 89 常德之人 90 常人 91 吉士 92 彰厥有常吉哉 93 常事 94 祥事 95 常 96 祥 97 常
伯常任 98 司寇蘇公式敬爾由獄... 茲式有慎 99 式 100 由 1. 用 2. 法 3. 爾 4. 其 5. 用能敬

consequence, we have to give it the same meaning in the preceding phrase: 'The minister of crime, the prince of Su, was a model; be careful about the prosecutions which you (follow =) attend to ... him you should take as model and have care'.

1967. Yī lie yung chung fa 8.

A. PK'ung and K'ung Ying-ta give no expl. of *lie*, but the Shīwen has no gloss on it, so the ancient opinion was certainly that it had its ordinary reading **l̥iat* / *l̥iät* / *lie* 'rank, order, series, degree': 'According to degrees (of crimes) apply just punishments'. — B. Kiang Sheng reads **l̥iad* / *l̥iäi* / *li* and defines it as = t'iao li 9 'paragraph, item', thus considering it as a short-form for 10: 'According to the law paragraphs apply just punishments'. In the early literature *li* 10 is only known in the sense of 'usage, rule, precedent', and the technical sense of 'paragraph' is, of course, much more recent. — C. Legge: 'To rank with him (sc. the prince of Su) in the ordering of the appropriate punishments'. An eccentric idea. — No reason to abandon A.

Ku ming.

1968. Wang pu yi 11.

A. This is PK'ung's version: 'The king was not happy' (he was suffering). Cf. the similar line in Kin t'eng: 12 'The king was sick and was not happy'. — B. Ma Jung reads: w a n g p u s h i 13, and he defines *sh i* 14 by 15 'to dissolve': 'The king's (sickness) was not alleviated'. This ellipsis is most unnatural. — C. Han shu: Lü li chī quotes 12, clearly through a confusion with Kin t'eng. — The original graph was probably simply 16, without radical (Chou fashion), and was correctly filled out into 17 in one version, wrongly into 18 in another.

1969. T'ao huei shuei 19.

A. Whereas all agree that *huei* means 'to wash the face' (Shuowen var. 20), the definitions of t'ao 21 (**t'og*) vary: Ma Jung: 'to wash the hair'; Cheng Hūan: s. a. c h a o 22 (**d'ög*) = 'to wash the clothes'; PK'ung: 'to wash the hands'. With these interpr. which all take t'ao as separate from and coördinated with *huei*, the following *shuei* comes in very strange: 'He washed the hair and washed the face (in) water', etc. — B. T'ao is only known (except as a geographical name) meaning 'to moisten, to make wet, to pour water on' generally, earliest in the binome t'ao t'ai 23 in Huai: Yao lüe. The phrase becomes more natural in construction if we take it as a whole: 'He (poured the face-washing water =) poured water over his face'.

1970. Tsi ta tsien 24.

A. PK'ung: *tsien* 25 = 26: 'The sickness greatly advances'. *Tsien* 25, properly 'dropwise, little by little', is very common in the sense of 'to advance gradually'. — B. In Lie: Ta ming we have a similar line 27, and here Yin King-shun (T'ang time) says *tsien* = 28 'to become intense', and Sun Sing-yen adopts this here in Shu. No text par.

1971. Ki mi liu 29.

A. PK'ung: *mi* 30 = 31 'long': 'It has (extensively =) long tarried'. *Mi* = 'to extend' is common, e. g. Kyü: Tsin yü 1, phr. 32 'Slandorous words (extendedly =) increasingly rise'; Tso: Chao 13, phr. 33 'He kept his purpose with an (extended =) ever-increasing steadfastness'. Yi Chou shu: Shī fa says that (as a posthumous name) *mi* 30 means 31 'tarrying, continuing', on which PK'ung may have based himself. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: 'It has become *mi* (extended =) increasing and *liu* continuous'. *Liu* in this sense is unnatural. — C. Kiang Sheng: *mi* 30 = 34 'to finish' (after Erya), explaining: 'When (my life) is *mi* ending (and yet) *liu* lingering'. It is easy to see what has given Kiang this idea: Ode 252, phr. 35 'May you (end =) fulfil your natural years' (see Gl. 912). But

this notwithstanding, his way of construing our Shu line is exceedingly forced. — A simply and naturally suits the context.

1972. K'ung pu huo shī yen sī 36.

A. PK'ung: »I fear that I shall not be able shī yen to make a (swearing =) solemn declaration sī and (continue =) follow up (my purposes)«. — B. Kiang Sheng (after Erya): shī 37 = 38 'carefully' (or: 'warningly'). But shī and shī yen in the sense of 'a solemn declaration' is almost a technical term, see Kan shī and T'ang shī. The sī 39 Kiang paraphrases: 40. Legge takes this as: »My wishes about my successor«, but Couvreur better more generally »(ne possim dicere) prosequenda (i. e. post mortem facienda)«. Thus: »I fear that I shall not be able to make a solemn declaration about the subsequent (matters)«. — C. Yü Yüe: sī 39 stands for 41 which is equal to 42: »I shall not be able shī to set forth yen - ts' i my speech«. A very unnecessary loan speculation; still more so is Yü Sing-wu's idea that 39 *dziag stands for yi 43 (*ziag) and is only a final particle. 1973. Sūan ch'ung kuang 44.

A. Ma Jung: »They displayed an accumulated brightness (like that of sun, moon and stars taken together)«. That this interpr. was well spread and accepted in Han time is revealed by Huan Tan (1st. c. B. C. and A. D.) who (Sin lun as quoted in Yü lan) tells a legend: »In the 2nd year, the day kia tsī, sun and moon were like two connected pi jades, the five stars were like connected pearls, and at dawn Wu Wang came to Mu-ye in Shang's suburbs«. The »accumulated brightness« was thus an augury of victory. This legend, in its turn, is a fantasy to a certain extent based on a passage in Kyü: Chou yü, hia, where a series of astronomical phenomena are connected with Wu Wang's victory over Yin. — B. PK'ung more simply and naturally: »They displayed their (repeated brightness =) brightness one after the other«. This opinion must already have been Pan Ku's who (in Tien yin) says: 45.

1974. Tien li ch'en kiao 46.

A. PK'ung, rendering tien 47 by 48 and li 49 by 50, divides: tien, li ch'en kiao: »They tien (fixed =) firmly established (sc. the mandate), and li ch'en applied and set forth kiao the instructions«. An impossible construction. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, repeating a idea which he propounded in To fang (Gl. 1907), says: li 49 = 51: »They tien (fixed =) firmly established li (that which the people should) rely on« (i. e. the provisions); even worse than A. — C. Kiang Sheng: li 49 here is equal to the li 52 in Li: Yü ling 53 »He orders the grand scribe to direct without error the movements of sun, moon, stars and constellations and their stations«. It is very doubtful what li 52 here really means; Kiang believes that su li is a binome of analogous words: »(The places of) resting and attachment«, i. e. stations on the firmament (there are many other possibilities). Thus here: »They fixed the stations (of the asterisks) and set forth their instructions«. Again it is the Kyü passage (see Gl. 1973) which has provoked this speculation. — D. It does not become better in Sun Sing-yen's modification: li 49 means 54 'number' (attested meaning, see Gl. 759); thus: »They fixed the number (of the pitch-pipes)« — a theme likewise mentioned in the same Kyü chapter, in connection with Wu Wang's

其所由之獄6敬爾7是刈是獲8以列用中罰9條例10例11王不憚12王有疾弗豫
13王不釋14釋15解16畢17憚18釋19洩頡頏20汰21洩22濯23洩汰24疾大漸25漸26
進27得疾七日大漸28劇29既彌留30彌31久32謔言彌興33守志彌篤34終35俾彌爾
性36恐不獲誓言嗣37誓38謹39嗣40後嗣之事41嗣42爾辭43己44豈重光45豈二祖之
重光46莫麗陳敷47莫48定49麗50施51依52離53乃命太史司日月星辰之行宿離不

victory. — **E.** Liu Feng-lu: »They established the attachment (of the people) and set forth the instructions; li = 'to attach' is well attested, see Gl. 442. — **F.** Chang Ping-lin: li means 'number' (as under D above), but refers to the numbering (dividing into categories) of the various affairs of government: »They established the numbers (of affairs) and set forth the instructions«. — **G.** Another interpr. The meaning of li 49 which is commonest in later times: 'beautiful, fine, brilliant' is well attested in Chou texts, e. g. Chuang: Lie Yü-k'ou 55 »strength, beauty, bravery, daring»; Sün: Fei siang 56 »There is nobody who is not beautiful and handsome»; Ch'u: Chao hun 57 »Beautiful (elegant) but not remarkable», etc. The line belongs together with and is analogous to the preceding: sū a n c h' u n g k u a n g t i e n l i: »(The kings Wen and Wu) displayed their brightness one after the other and tien set forth li their refinement«. Ch'en kiao then connects with the following: c h' e n k i a o t s ê y i.

1975. Ch'en kiao tsê yi, yi pu wei 58.

A. PK'ung: »In spreading the instructions they toiled, but in toiling they did not go too far«. Yi = 'to toil' is well attested (Ode 35). — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: »When they spread their instructions (the people) yi practised them, they practised them without transgression«. Yi = 'to practise' is also well attested (Tso, etc.). Sun Sing-yen has the curious idea that yi 'to practise' refers to military drill, as a preparation for the attack on Yin. — It is better, with A, to have the same subject in all the clauses and not suddenly introduce a »the people« which is not in the text.

1976. Yung k' o t a Y i n t s i t a m i n g 59. »Thus they could reach to Yin and achieve the great mandate«. This is the Ku-wen; the Kin-wen ap. the stone classics of 175 A. D. read 60, same meaning. Chang Ping-lin believes that t a 61 is a short-form for t' a 62 'to beat', which disregards the Kin-wen variant.

1977. Tsai h o u c h i t' u n g 63.

A. This is PK'ung's reading: »(I), the succeeding stupid one«. T' u n g 64 'ignorant, stupid' (common: Lun, Chuang etc.) is really etym. s. w. a. 65 (both *d'ung, even tone) and therefore fundamentally means 'puerile'. — **B.** Ma Jung's version had t' u n g 66, which he defines as = 67. In this he follows Shuowen, which says: 68. Some Shuowen versions have H i a - h o u 69, other versions have only h o u 70 (a graph which is interchangeable with the h o u 71 of A). Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen accept the former; believing, like Ma Jung, that it was the meaning k u n g 67 which Hū Shen illustrated by our Shu line, they try desperately to construe a meaning; Kiang: »(I) the (66 = 67) common (ruler) of h o u the princes t s a i H i a in the Chinese realm»; Sun: »(I), the (66 = 67 = 72 = 73) functionary for the princes in the Chinese realm»; both equally impossible. Chuang Shu-tsu, much more reasonably, accepts the version without H i a 74, takes h o u 70, like the h o u 71 of A, as = 'the successor', and believes that Hū Shen's quotation illustrated, not the meaning k u n g 67 (as Ma Jung believed) but the meaning 75; the latter, according to Chuang, should be considered as a variant for 76, which in Yü p'ien is defined as = 77 'stupid'. If all this is right, and it seems strikingly plausible, the B text means precisely the same as A, and 66 is merely a variant for 64. The expression h o u c h i t' u n g is supported by a par. phr. at the end of the chapter (now K'ang wang chī kao): w o h o u c h i j e n 78 »we succeeding men«.

1978. King y a t' i e n w e i 79.

A. »I have respectfully (gone to meet =) welcomed Heaven's fearsome (charge)«. That w e i alone should mean »fearsome charge« is very unnatural. In fact t' i e n w e i is a standing phrase, meaning »Heaven's severity, Heaven's majesty«. So we have it *passim* in the Shu, e. g. Kün Shī: 80 ». . . fail to far-reachingly think of Heaven's majesty«, and also in Shī, e. g. Ode 272, phr. 81 »may we fear Heaven's majesty«. It should certainly mean the same here. It is easy to see what has caused the A interpr. In Lü hing we find:

king yi t'ien ming 82, which strongly resembles our phr. here. But in fact they are not analogous. — B. Tuan Yü-ts'ai: y a 83 is probably a «correction» of Wei Pao's from an original 84, as in various Shu passages. This 84 could also be read *ngâ / nga / y a 'to meet, to welcome', but Liu Feng-lu believes that it is a short-form for 85 (*ngîo / ngiwo / y ü) 'to withstand, avert': «I have respectfully averted Heaven's severity». Simpler and better we may, with Wang Siên-k'ien, take 84 in its ordinary reading and sense *ngîo / ngiwo / y ü 'to direct, to conduct', thus: «I have respectfully (conducted =) applied Heaven's majesty».

1979. T'ien tsiang tsi tai fu hing fu wu 86.

A. PK'ung punctuates after tai: «Heaven has sent down a sickness that is fatal, I cannot rise, I cannot (wake up =) get my mind clear». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en carries tai to the latter half: «Heaven has sent down a sickness, tai there is risk that I shall not rise» etc. — C. Sun Sing-yen says that wu 87 means 88 k'ue 'to awake', and this same k'ue also means ch'î 89 'to know'; Fang yen says ch'î 89 means y ü 90 'to recover from an illness', hence wu 87 means 'to recover'(!). — No reason for abandoning the earliest interpr.

Er shang ming sh'î chen yen see Gl. 1249 and 1446. Jou yüan neng er see Gl. 917.

An k'üan siao ta shu pang 91; Yü Sing-wu would alter this into 92, an arbitrary and un-called-for text alteration.

Er wu yi Chao mao kung yü fei ki see Gl. 1624.

1980. Ch'u chuei yi yü t'ing 93.

A. PK'ung says that chuei yi 94 here means 95 'a tent', i. e. a canopy and curtains; thus: «One brought out the tent (i. e. canopy and curtains for the throne) into the courtyard». For this there is no support whatever, except the passage in Ku ming discussed below. And it is very unlikely, for in Chou texts yi 96 as a rule always means 'garment' and 'to wear' and is not used in the extended sense of 'a covering', as in later times (97 and such-like). Moreover, chuei yi would then here mean something quite different from in Li cheng, where PK'ung defines chuei yi as 98 «the manager of garments». The fundamental sense of 94 (*t'iwat / t'iwät / cho and *t'iwad / t'iwäi / chuei) is 'to sew, to stitch, to make stitches' (e. g. Li: Nei tsé 99 «They put thread in a needle and beg to mendingly stitch together [the torn garment]»), the original graph 100 being a pictogram for 'stitch', and chuei yi in Li cheng properly means «the stitcher of garments». — B. Cheng Hüan, who already realized that the meaning of the words should be the same as in Li cheng, says that stitched garments were the grave clothes for the dying man. Be this as it may, we have to be consistent and interpret: «One brought out the stitched garments into the courtyard». — We compare later in the chapter:

Ti shê fu yi chuei yi 1. A. PK'ung: «Servants set out the screen (orna-

貸 53 數 55 壯麗勇敢 56 莫不美麗姚冶 57 麗而不奇些 58 陳敷則肆肆不達 59 用克達殷
大命 60 用克通殷就大命 61 達 62 捷 63 在後之伺 64 伺 65 僅 66 詞 67 共 68 詞共也 一曰識
也... 周書曰在(貞)右之詞 69 夏后 70 后 71 後 72 供 73 供職 74 夏 75 識 76 慙 77 遇 78 後之
人 79 敬迓天威 80 弗永遠念天威 81 畏天之威 82 敬迓天命 83 迓 84 御 85 禦 86 天降疾殛
弗與弗悟 87 悟 88 覺 89 知 90 愈 91 安勸小大庶邦 92 宴觀... 93 出綴衣于庭 94 綴衣 95 帷
帳 96 衣 97 弓衣 98 掌衣服 99 納箴請補綴 100 綴 1. 狄設黼黻綴衣 2. 贊衣 3. 綴輅 4. 贊輅

mented) with axes and the tent (canopy and curtains)». The meaning 'tent' here is simply a guess made from the context: the *fu yi* was a screen which stood behind the emperors chair, hence *chuei yi* should be something connected with the throne, and *yi* meaning 'garment', it should be some kind of curtain(!). All this is pure speculation. — B. Sun Sing-yen: «**Servants displayed the screen (ornamented) with axes and the stitched garments (of the king)**». Sun reminds of the passage in Li: Chung yung where it is said of the very filial Wu Wang and Chou Kung: «In spring and autumn they repaired the temple halls of their forefathers, set forth their ancestral utensils, displayed their garments...». — It should be added that, in Li cheng, *chuei yi* is sometimes written with the variant 2 (e. g. Pan ku: Si tu fu). This is a mere phonetic loan: 2 **tʰwad* for the homophonous 94. *Vice versa* we find later on in our present chapter how 3 stands for 4 (which is Cheng Hūan's correct reading) 'adjunct chariot'.

1981. Pei yüan Ts'i hou Lü Ki 5.

A. PK'ung takes *yüan* 6 = 7 (after Erya): «(The grand guardian) caused (them) at (the place of) Lü Ki, prince of Ts'i (with two shields and lances etc.)». *Yüan* would then mean 'auprès de'. There are no safe examples of *yüan* 6 meaning *yü* 7. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en simply skips the inconvenient *yüan*: «He caused the prince of Ts'i, Lü Ki, to...» (foll. by Legge and Couvreur). *Yüan* is in fact often a mere untranslatable particle in the Shī, but never in this position. — C. Kiang Sheng therefore takes *yüan* as a verb = 8: «*pei* he caused them *yüan* to lead the prince of Ts'i, Lü Ki, to...» etc. *Yüan* can mean 'to drag slowly' (Ode 70). It is true that Shuowen has the definition *yüan* = 8, but probably this is truncated and should be 9 'an introductory word'. — D. Yü Yüe: Er ya says 10 = 11, and the line is equal to: 12 «To follow the prince of Ts'i» (as assistants). But for *pei* = *ts'ung* there is no text support whatever. — E. Chuang Shu-tsu punctuates after *yüan*, saying that *pei yüan* 13 means 14 'to support under the arms': «(He ordered Chung Huan and Nan Kung Mao), to support him under the arms» (sc. as one of the principal mourners). We need not take this in such a concrete way. *Yüan* 15 (for which the homophonous 6 serves here) is common in the sense of 'to support, aid, assist' generally, e. g. Tso: Huan 12, phr. 16 «Without some great support, you will not become prince» (very common). Thus: «**He gave order to Chung Huan and Nan-kung Mao and made them assist him**». Ts'i hou Lü Ki is then the subject of the next clause.

1982. Yen ju yi shī 17.

A. PK'ung: *yi* 18 (var. 19 ap. comm. on Hou Han shu) = 20 'bright' (Erya: 19 = 20). In fact *yi ji*, whether wr. 21 or 22, means *ming ji* 23 (when the day again becomes bright =) 'to tomorrow, next day', and this synonym confirms that the fundamental sense is 'bright'. Thus: «**He invited him to enter the Bright room**». When PK'ung then identifies this with the 24 «the Grand apartment» (living-room) of the king, it is merely an arbitrary guess. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *yi* 18 means 'wing', and *yi shī* therefore should mean 'a side-room': «He invited him to enter the side-room». If so, in the version with 19 this is merely a loan char. for 18. — C. Chang Ping-lin: *yi* 18 is a loan char. for *yi* 25, in Shuowen defined as meaning 'a tent', thus here: «the tent room». But for this meaning there is no text support. — There is no reason to abandon the earliest interpr. that *yi shī* means 'the Bright room'. But very likely this was a fine name for a temple hall, since we have *tsung* 26 ancestral temple in the same line.

Sü tsê tsung see Gl. 1806.

1983. Ming tso ts'ê tu 27.

A. PK'ung: «Order was given *tso* to make *ts'ê tu* rules for the inscribing». This must be wrong since *tso ts'ê* is a standing phrase and *tso* belongs to *ts'ê*, not to *tu*. Hence we must divide: *ming tso-ts'ê tu* «Order was given to make a

document about *tu* the measures (sc. prescribed by the dead king)». See Gl. 1558 and particularly 1794. — B. Yü Sing-wu, following ideas expressed by Sun Yi-jiang and Wang Kuo-wei in other contexts, interprets: «Charge was given to the *tso-t's'ê* maker of brevet *Tsê*» (28, because *tu* 29 and *ts'ê* 28 are interchangeable characters), i. e. *Tsê* was nominated to the post of *tso-t's'ê*. This makes nonsense in the context.

1984. *Po siang ming shi sū ts'ai* 30.

A. PK'ung says that *po siang*: *po* the leader (of princes) *siang* prime minister was the Shao Kung, prince of Shao, already mentioned as *T'ai pao* 'grand guardian'. He interprets: «The leader-premier ordered the officers *sū* (to wait with =) to keep ready for use *ts'ai* the materials (for the burial)». — B. *Ts'ai Ch'en*: *sū* 31 (**s'iu*) means *ts'ü* 32 (**ts'iu*) 'to take': «to (take =) procure the materials». *Sū* in itself has no such meaning, so *Ts'ai* must have thought that **s'iu* was a loan char. for **ts'iu*, which is very unlikely. — C. Kiang Sheng: *sū* 31 is a graphical error for *pan* 33 'to distribute'. In confirmation, Kiang adduces Li: Yü tsao, the enigmatic phrase *yü sū* 34 of which is explained as = *yü pan* 35 (36 = 37) by some; *sū* 31 would here likewise be an error for *pan* 33. A slender support indeed. — D. Sun Sing-yen simply says that *sū* 31 = *sū* 38 (as often). The line could then either (with Legge) be turned thus: «The leader-premier (charged =) required from the officers *sū ts'ai* the necessary materials», which would give *ming* a very unusual meaning; or, better, with *sū* as a verb: 'to make necessary, obligatory' = 'to exact': «The leader-premier ordered the officers to exact the materials». — E. All the preceding comm. have taken *po* as 'leader' of princes, with a view to a later passage in our chapter which says that «the grand guardian led the princes of the western regions...». Liu Feng-lu, however, proposes that *po siang* 39 is the same as the *t'ai-pu* 40 grand valet, but for this there is no corroboration whatever. — C being a too bold emendation, D seems preferable.

Ti shê fu yi chuei yi see Gl. 1980.

1985. *Hua yü jeng ki* 41.

A. PK'ung: since *jeng* 42 acc. to Erya means 43 'to continue, go as before', the *jeng ki* «as-before stool» means «the same stool as during the king's life», by Legge, rendered = «the usual stool». The meaning 'to repeat, reiterate, as before' of *jeng* is common. In Chouli: *Sî ki yen*, the term *jeng ki* 44 recurs in the phr. 45 «In auspicious (services =) ceremonies there are altered (changed) stools, in inauspicious ceremonies (mourning) there are as-before stools», and Cheng Hün there proposes that in the former case one had various kinds of stools used alternately, whereas in the latter the same kind of stool was used all through. — B. The earliest Chouli comm., Cheng Chung, says that *pien ki* 'altered (changed) stool' means 'decorated stool' in contrast to *jeng ki* 'as-before-stool =) unaltered stool' which means 'plain, undecorated stool'. Sun Yi-jiang, who defends this view, says that our Shu phr. «*jeng ki* with *hua yü* varicoloured jade» would seem to forbid this interpr., but the term refers only to the wood-work, not its additional ornaments, thus: «the (unaltered =) plain-wood stool with varicoloured jades».

5.俾爰齊侯呂伋 6.爰又於 8.引 9.引詞 10.俾 11.從 12.從於齊侯 13.俾爰 14.扶掖 15.援 16.子無大援將不立 17.延入翼室 18.翼 19.翌 20.明 21.翼日 22.翌日 23.明日 24.路寢 25.虞 26.宗 27.命作冊度 28.宅 29.度 30.伯相命士須材 31.須 32.取 33.頒 34.魚須 35.魚班 36.班 37.頒 38.需 39.伯相 40.太僕 41.華玉仍几 42.仍几 43.因 44.仍几 45.凡吉事變几凶事仍几 46.漆仍几 47.敷

But Sun forgets that in the next line we have *ts' i jeng ki* 46 »lacquered jeng ki«, which is unreconcilable with Cheng Chung's interpr. We had better, therefore, take *jeng* 'to reiterate, continue, as-before' here = 'traditional'. Thus the Chouli line: »For auspicious ceremonies there were (changing =) varying kinds of stools, for inauspicious ceremonies there was the traditional stool«. And our Shu line: »The traditional stool with varicoloured jades«.

1986. *Fu ch'ung chi si* 47.

A. Ma Jung says 48 **iär / tsi / chi* = 49 'green rush', for which there is no support whatever in par. texts. But PK'ung explains more precisely: *chi* = 50. The second char. here is a vulgar form of the ordinary *p'ing* 51, and PK'ung therefore means: 'a smooth rush (mat)'. In fact, the meaning expressed by *chi* is not 'rush' but 'smooth'. The char. 48 *chi* fundamentally means 'whetstone' (the »smoother«), in this sense also enlarged into 52. In Ode 203 we have: *Chou tao ju chi* 53, which Mengtsi quotes 54. Thus: »They spread out double smooth (rush) mats«. — B. Cheng Hün: *chi* 48 is = 55. It is true that 48 is common in the sense of 'to achieve' and a meaning: '(achieved =) perfectly worked mats' is not impossible. But A in the modified application above is certainly more natural.

1987. *Chuei chun* 56.

A. PK'ung says *chuei* 57 means 58 'of mixed colours'. Kiang Sheng tries to confirm this by referring to Chouli: *Si ki yen*, and to compare our 4 kinds of mats in the Shu with those in the Chouli; he believes that in this way he can identify the *chuei chun* of Shu with the *huei chun* 59, and *huei* means 'variegated'. But in Chouli there are 6 kinds to 4 in the Shu, and there is no real correspondence at all. — B. There is thus really no reason why *chuei* should not have its ordinary meaning (see Gl. 1980): »stitched borders«.

1988. *Feng si* 60.

A. Cheng Hün says that it means mats made of scraped and boiled bamboo. Wang Su and PK'ung say that it means mats made of juncus, sedge. For neither is there the slightest support. — B. We take *feng* (with Chu Tsün-sheng) in its ordinary sense of 'luxuriant, luxurious, ample', thus: »sumptuous mats«.

1989. *Sün si* 61.

A. Both Ma Jung and Cheng Hün believe that this means mats made of rind of bamboo, and Cheng explains that *sün* 62 (usually read **siwän / siwän / sün*) here stands for the word *giwän / jiwän / yün*, which usually is written 63 (Li: Li k'i). A very unlikely loan. — B. PK'ung defines *sün* as = 64; the 65 ordinarily means 'rush', but in this binome it evidently refers to some special kind of bamboo. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en simply says: *sün si* = 66 'bamboo mats'. But *sün*, after all, normally means 'bamboo sprout' (in Pekinese irregularly pron. *sun*), and we had better preserve the idea of tenderness: »young-bamboo mats«.

1990. *Hün fen chun* 67.

A. Cheng Hün: a border made of 68; ordinarily this would mean »... made of black strings (cords)«. But in comm. on Chouli: *Si ki yen*, Cheng expounds further: *fen* 69: a *fen* is like a *shou* but one that is patterned and (more) narrow«. Now we have the binome *tsu-shou* 70 in Li: Yü tsao, there indicating something with which jades etc. were suspended from the girdle; it has generally been translated as 'string', but *shou* is indeed not a string but a band, narrower than a sash: we might better render it by 'ribbon'. Evidently Cheng in our Shu phr. *fen chun* could not mean 'string border', but he meant »a border made of black ribbons«. PK'ung follows this, defining *fen chun* as = 71. The word 72 **p'iwän / p'iwän / fen* has several meanings, but there is only one which could possibly be adduced in support of Cheng's interpr.; in Li: Nei tsé it is

said 73 »To the left [in the girdle] he suspends the f e n kerchief and the s h u e i kerchief», the comm. explaining that f e n was for wiping utensils and s h u e i for wiping the hands (a mere guess); in any case, f e n was some piece of cloth carried in the girdle. Whether this had the narrow »ribbon» shape resembling a s h o u 74, so that this could confirm Cheng above, seems very problematic. — B. Cheng Chung (1st. c. A. D.) in comm. on Chouli first says that f e n by some is read like P i n 75, by others like f e n 76 (*p_iwən) 'flour'; in the latter case, f e n c h u n would mean something like »flour (-white) border». Both very little convincing. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en therefore takes f e n 72 in its most common meaning of 'confused' (*passim* in the classics), modifies this into 77 'mixed', and Legge renders him thus: »with dark mixed border»; but since this is rather nonsensical, Legge adds in a note: »perhaps all dark but of different shades». (Couvreur most eccentrically: »mêlée de bleue [et de noir]»). — D. Another interpr. F e n sometimes means 78 'ample'. Yi: kua 57, phr. 79 »One uses scribes and magicians in ample numbers; Ch'u: Li sao 80 »When I now amply have this inner beauty». The meaning 'ample' (either in numbers or quantity) is an extension of meaning from 'confused, mixed' = 'multifarious, manifold' = 'rich, ample'. Here it is analogous to the f e n g s i 81 'sumptuous mat' in the preceding line, thus: »with dark, ample border.»

1991. Y ü e y ü w u c h ' u n g c h ' e n p a o 82.

A. Ma Jung: Y ü e 83 is the tribe name: »(There were) the jades of Yü e . . . » The south coast of China has never been a source of »jades», and this attempt to evade the difficulty of the construction is futile. — B. PK'ung as usual renders y ü e 83 by y ü 84, but then has to supply a principal verb which the Shu text has not: Y ü in (sc. the eastern and western galleries) [they displayed] the (quintuple =) five kinds of jades, and set forth the treasures». This is entirely impossible. — C. Another interpr. Y ü e 83 is evidently the empty initial particle so frequently introducing a line in the Shu (e. g. Wei tsī 85, etc.). But if y ü e y ü w u c h ' u n g has no verb, the c h ' e n p a o should have no verb either, or the lack of congruence in construction will be shocking. C h ' e n 86 is common in the sense of 'old' as opposed to 'new', and since it is here a display of sacred heirlooms, this is evidently the meaning: »(There were) quintuple jades, and old treasures». Cf. Ode 211, phr. 87 »We take our old (grain)».

1992. C h ' i t a o t a h ü n h u n g p i y ü a n y e n 88.

A. Cheng Hün: c h ' i t a o »the red knife» was the one with which Wu Wang killed Shou; the Chou had red for symbolic colour, hence the knife was red; t a h ü n »the great instructions» were 89 »rules of decorum», namely the oldest chapters of the Shu (Yao tien, Kao Yao mo). PK'ung modifies c h ' i t a o : »knife with a red scabbard». Kiang Sheng says that »the great instructions» = »rules of decorum» were all the documents of antiquity existent at the time. Wang K'ai-yün, on the contrary, believes that it refers to the Hung fan(!). — B. It seems evident that this line enumerates the w u y ü »five jades» of the preceding. C h ' i t a o »the red knife» was a ritual jade knife used in sacrifices, called »red» because it drew blood. Like p i, y ü a n and y e n, t a h ü n must

重底(底)席 48. 底(底) 49. 青蒲 50. 箭竿 51. 平 52. 砥 53. 周道如砥 54. 如底 55. 致 56. 綴純 57. 綴 58. 雜
彩 59. 續純 60. 豐席 61. 筍席 62. 筍 63. 筠 64. 箭竹 65. 箭 66. 竹席 67. 玄紛純 68. 玄組 69. 紛如綬有
文而狹者 70. 組綬 71. 黑綬 72. 紛 73. 左佩紛纓 74. 纓 75. 西 76. 粉 77. 雜 78. 盛 79. 用史巫紛若 80.
紛吾既有此內美兮 81. 豐席 82. 越王五重陳寶 83. 越 84. 於 85. 越及于今 86. 陳 87. 我取其陳
88. 赤刀大訓弘璧琬琰 89. 禮法 90. 訓 91. 言 92. 川 93. 介 94. 介圭 95. 大介 96. 琬 97. 琬圭 98. 琰 99.

be some ritual jade and no »instructions» which do not fit in at all in the enumeration. In *h ün 90* we can subtract the *rad. 91*, which is surely a Han-time addition, as in scores of cases. But *ch'üan 92* (without radical) makes no sense and must be a corruption. Probably it is a mistake for the graphically similar *kie 93*, i. e. the *kie kuei 94* »the grand (rectangular) tessera», which recurs later in our chapter, and occurs in *Odes 259* and *261*. That *ta kie 95* »the great grand [*k uei tessera*] stands without its principal word *kuei* is exactly analogous to the following *yüan 96* which stands alone for *yüan kuei 97* »the rounded-top (*k uei tessera*) and *yen 98* which stands for *yen kuei 99* »the pointed-top (*k uei tessera*)». Further, it would seem to be a meaningless tautology to say *ta kie* since both *ta* and *kie* mean 'great'; but in fact *kie kuei* »grand *kuei*» is a technical term, a fixed name of a particular kind of tessera, and there is nothing peculiar in an extra word *ta* 'large' being used to describe this object. Thus our Shu line: »The red (sacrificial jade) knife, *ta kie* the large grand (*kuei tessera*), the great (jade) *pi* disk, the rounded-top (*kuei tessera*) and the pointed-top (*kuei tessera*)».

1993. *Ta yü yi yü t'ien k'iu 100*.

Ma Jung says that *yi yü* means »the jade of the Yi tribes». PK'ung on the contrary proposes that *yi 1* means 2 'constant, regular', i. e. that it serves for *yi 3* (*1* for *3* occurs for instance in *Meng*, see Gl. 824), but there is no sufficient reason for rejecting the earliest interpr. As to *t'ien k'iu*, which is probably a corruption of the *ta k'iu* of *Ode 304*, see Gl. 1193 a.

1993 a. *Yin ch'ü wu yi... Tuei ch'ü kuo Ho ch'ü kung Ch'uei ch'ü chu sh'ü 4*.

A. Cheng Hün asserts that *Yin*, *Tuei*, *Ho* and *Ch'uei* were skilful men of antiquity, who made these various objects. Later comm. have tried to identify them. *Ch'uei* has of course been identified with the *Ch'uei* whom *Shun* made *kung-kung* master of works (see *Yao tien*). In the Preface (*Shu sū*), a chapter *Yin cheng 5* »The expedition of *Yin*» (now lost, the present *Yin cheng* is spurious) is recorded, and *Cheng* in comm. there likewise says that *Yin* was the name of a state. *Ho* has been identified with some member of the astronomer family descendant from *Ho* the colleague of *Hi* (*Yao tien*) and it has been proposed that *6* should not be read *Tuei* (**d'wád*) in the ordinary way, but *Yüe* (**d'üwat*), being the personal name of the sage *Fu Yüe 7* of *Yin* time (the speaker in the now lost *Shu* chapter *Yü ming 8*), also written *9*. All this is, of course, very speculative. — B. Whereas PK'ung follows A in regard to *Tuei*, *Ho* and *Ch'uei*, he takes *Yin* as a state name, and if that is right there is the possibility of *Tuei*, *Ho* and *Ch'uei* being likewise place names or country names. In the preceding line we had *Yi yü 10* the jade of the *Yi* tribes, and here we have *Ho ch'ü kung* »the bow of the *Ho* (tribe)»: the *Ho Yi 11* tribe is recorded in *Yü Kung* (prov. *Liang chou*). *Ch'uei* forms part of various early place names, but none of the words of the *6* series. — It is certainly impossible to prove either of these interpretations, and our translation: »the garment of *Yin*» etc., being really ambiguous, conceals the uncertainty on this point.

1994. *Tsai pin kie mien 12*.

A. PK'ung: »by the guests' staircase, facing (south)». A curious idea that *mien 13* 'face' alone should mean »to face the south». — B. *Kiang Sheng*: *mien 13* here means just the same as the *ts'ien 14* later in the line, thus: »In front of the guests' staircase».

1995. *Er jen tsüe pien ch'ü huei 15*. »Two men with sparrow-caps holding *huei*-lances».

Tsüe pien: A. *Po hu t'ung*, foll. by *Cheng Hün*, says that this means a cap the colour of a sparrow's head, defined as *16* 'reddish black'. — B. *Sh'ü ming*, foll. by PK'ung, says it means 'cap made of sparrow skin'.

Huei: A. *Cheng Hün*: »As to its shape, it has a slanting edge». — B. PK'ung:

it is a 17 »triangular(-bladed) lance«, the same definition which Mao Heng has for the word k'iu 18 in Ode 128 (see Gl. 314).

In both these cases the comm. are too uncertain, and by our formulation we declare our lack of *points-d'appui* for a closer definition.

Sī jen k'ī pien see Gl. 364.

1996. Chī liu... chī yüe... chī k'uei... chī k'ü... chī tuei 19.

The exact nature of these various weapons is very uncertain. Cheng Hūan says that the liu 20 was a kind of axe, and the yüe 21 a large axe and that both the k'uei 22 and k'ü 23 were three-pronged lances (24 lances with three prongs, thus different from the »triangular-blade lance« h uei in Gl. 1995 above; Sun Sing-yen wrongly says that feng 25 'prong' and yü 26 'corner, angle' is the same thing). As to the latter, which in Couvreur are depicted as tridents: 27 (like the trident of Poseidon), PK'ung more reasonably says that they were some kinds of ki 28, i. e. type 29, a dagger-axe with an extra prong on top. As to 30, finally, the current Shuowen version has a char. 31 yün, and quotes our Shu line as example. This has caused Kiang Sheng to correct 30 into yün 31 and to surmise that Wei Pao in middle-T'ang time altered yün into 30 in the Shu text. But Tuan Yü-ts'ai has conclusively shown that, on the contrary, Shuowen originally had 30 and not yün 31, and that the latter is a corruption (already made in T'ang-time in some Shuowen version). Lu Tê-ming, a century before Wei Pao, gave the sound gloss *d'iwad / i'wäi / j uei, which indicates 30, not 31; and Yü p'ien and Ts'ie yün both have 30 = 32 'lance', but have no yün 31. They both, however, read *d'wäd / d'uäi / t uei, different from Lu; his j uei is indeed the correct reading of 30 in its common meaning of 'sharp'; but for our 'lance' we should follow Ts'ie yün. That the word t uei 30 acc. to the Han scholars denoted some kind of lance follows from its placing in Shuowen among various words for lances. — Altogether we cannot dare, on these flimsy informations of Han and later times, to define these weapons more closely, but retain their Chinese names in the translation.

1997. T'ai tsung 33.

A. Cheng Hūan: tsung = tsun 'to revere, to honour', referring to the rites generally, thus: »the grand master of rites«. This is quite analogous to the Chī tsung 34 »regulator of the ritual honours« (=) master of rites in the Yao tien. Legge here translates »minister of religion«. — B. PK'ung: t'ai tsung = »the master of the ancestral temple«. In Li: Tsi t'ung, Legge follows this and translates: »the great minister in charge of the temple«. — In late Chou time the author of the Chouli was of the opinion that the Ta tsung po 35, which must reasonably be the same official as our T'ai (ta) tsung here, was in charge of all religious rites, not only the ancestral ones. There is no reason to doubt this, the earliest testimony we can reach.

1998. Shang tsung feng t'ung mao 36.

The word mao 37 has, all from Shang shu ta chuan, been explained as a cover for the k uei tessera given to a feudarory by the king. This expl. has been adopted by the commentators on Chouli: Yü jen 38, where the char. is written without radical 'jade'.

琬圭 10 大玉 11 禹玉 12 天球 1. 圭 2. 常 3. 舞 4. 胤之舞衣... 兕之戈和之弓 垂之竹矢 5. 胤征
6. 兕 7. 傅說 8. 說命 9. 傅兕 10. 禹玉 11. 和 12. 在賓階面 13. 面 14. 前 15. 二人雀弁執惠 16.
赤黑 17. 三隅牙 18. 去 19. 執劉 執鉞 執戣 執璽 執銳 20. 劉 21. 鉞 22. 戣 23. 璽 24. 三鋒牙 25. 鋒 26.
隅 27. 牙 28. 戟 29. 十 30. 銳 31. 銳 32. 牙 33. 大宗 34. 秩宗 35. 大宗伯 36. 上宗奉同瑁 37. 瑁 38. 天子執

Shang tsung:

A. Cheng Hsüan, troubled by the fact that the t'ai tsung 33 »grand master of rites« in the preceding paragraph here is called shang tsung 39, finds an ingenious explanation. The t'ai tsung is the same as the ta tsung po of the Chouli; this dignitary, however, had as his assistants 2 siao tsung po 40. Since, in our line here, t'ung and mao ought to be two different objects, they should be carried by two officiants, evidently the two highest (shang tsung 39) of those 3, i. e. the ta tsung po and the foremost of the siao tsung po! A very amusing scholastic speculation. — B. PK'ung: Shang tsung »the high master of rites« is simply = t'ai tsung.

T'ung mao:

A. Ma Jung takes t'ung 41 as an adjective to mao: »The (all-the-world-) uniting tessera-cover«. — B. The Kin-wen school (ap. San kuo chi: Yü Fan chuan, comm.) writing t'ung 42, says that this means »royal seal«. — C. Cheng Hsüan: t'ung 41 was a 43 »wine cup«. From the following lines it is amply clear that the char. 41, whether to be read t'ung or something else (see below), refers to some vessel used in the libation rite. This eliminates A and B and confirms C as to the meaning. PK'ung follows this, in defining t'ung as = 44 'cup'. Wang Ming-sheng and Kiang Sheng argue that the t'ung was the same as the tsan 45 »libation ladle«. Their only support for this is a passage in Li: Tsi t'ung: the king first holding a kuei tsan 46 libation ladle with kuei-tessera handle makes libation; the t'ai tsung then, holding a chang tsan 47 libation ladle with chang-tessera handle, next after makes libation. Cheng certainly meant nothing of the kind when he defined t'ung as a »wine cup«. Since t'ung 41 is entirely unknown in this sense in other texts, Chu Tsün-sheng proposes that 41 *d'ung / d'ung / t'ung is a loan char. for 48 *t'ung / t'ung / chung 'vessel, cup'. But 48 is poorly attested in this sense, the only pre-Han ex. being Chuang: Sü Wu-kuei 49, where its coördination with hing makes the meaning 'vessel' at least probable. And phonetically the theory is not very attractive. — D. Yü Fan (3rd c., see A above): The graph should not be t'ung 41 but mao 50, and since 50 and 51 are interchangeable (50 Shuowen = 'cap', wr. 51 in Han shu: Tsün Pu-yi chuan, and 52 in modern time), this mao, meaning 'cover', is the same word as the following mao 53 'tessera cover', the traditional t'ung being a corruption due to similarity. The Ts'ing scholars have strongly combatted this, saying that a mao-mao »enveloping cover« would be a meaningless pleonasm. Yet Yü's gloss contains a valuable feature, see E next. — E. Chuang Shu-tsu: t'ung 41 is a corruption of kia 54 and mao 53 a corruption of yu 55, the kia and yu being vessels used in the libation rite here described. As to mao = yu, this is entirely impossible. But t'ung = kia is a very clever emendation. The oldest forms of the char. kia were 56, depicting quite well the kia vessel such as we know it from the archaeological material. These forms, however, are from oracle bones (Yin time), and the Chou inscriptions unfortunately do not happen to have this word. But the small seal form: 57 is telling. The two mouths are obviously corruptions of the two uprights; the filling below: 58 is a corruption of the drawing of the vessel's body. With all its deformations the seal form reveals that the Chou graph must have been fairly similar to the second Yin graph above. And it is easily seen how this latter could be misread as t'ung 41. A more definite confirmation of this emendation we may draw from another source. The mao 53 »tessera cover« really makes no sense in this connection, which deals exclusively with the libation ceremony. Now, the earliest text referring to this kind of libation ceremony is Tso: Chao 17 (a »free« text, i. e. not a doctrinary ritual), referring to the year 526 B. C., which says: 59 »If I use (sc. for libation) the kuan-stone kia-vessel and the jade tsan libation ladle«. One variety of the latter was (cf. C above) the chang

tsan 47, and further on in our Shu chapter we find: *yi yi t'ung ping chang yi tso* 60 »he took another »t'ung«, grasped the *chang* libation ladle and with it made the matching libation». Since the *chang* (*tsan*) here obviously is the same implement (well known in our archaeological material) as the *tsan* in Tso, the *t'ung* 41 here should likewise be the same as the *kia* 54 of the Tso text. In other words, an original 56*b* should be deciphered as *kia* 54, not as *t'ung* 41. And then the Tso par. gives us the key to the enigmatic *mao* 53, which does not fit into the context; this is simply a corruption of *tsan* 45 'libation ladle'. The reason for this corruption was not simply carelessness, due to the similarity of the graphs. It had its special reason, revealed by Yü Fan (D above). Some early Han glossist (perhaps one of the transcribers of the Chou text into Han writing) believed that the character should not be deciphered *t'ung* 41 but *mao* 50, and then he thought that the following *tsan* 45 was erroneous, making no sense together with the *mao*; well knowing that *mao* 50 'to cover, to envelop' had a meaning closely akin to that of 53 »tessera cover«, he concluded that *tsan* 45 was a fault for *mao* 53 and corrected the text accordingly: 61 »enveloping cover«. In the Ku-wen school (Ma Jung and followers) the first *mao* 50 was altered into *t'ung* 41, but the second *mao* 53 was left standing, and so we have got the present orthodox text: *t'ung mao*. But the true Chou text ought to be reestablished as: *shang tsung feng kia tsan* 62 »The high master of rites held a *kia*-vessel and libation ladle«.

1999. Yü wang ts'ê ming 63.

A. Cheng Hün: *yü* 64 = 65, thus reading it (= 66) **ngâ / nga / y a*, as often: »He (went to meet =) turned towards the king (with) the written-down charge» (sc. last order of the dead king). That *tsê ming* in this way should be equal to *yi tsê ming* 67 is somewhat strained. — B. PK'ung paraphrases: »He held the written-down charge and 68 brought it forward to the king»; thus more exactly: »He (brought forward =) presented to the king the written-down charge«. Yü (**ngio / ngiwo / y ü*) sometimes has this sense, as an extension from the fundamental meaning 'to steer, to conduct'. Cf. Ode 177, phr. 69 »He presents drink and food to all his friends«, properly: »he gives drink to and (brings forward to =) provides all his friends«. — C. Chuang Shu-tsu punctuates after *wang*, carrying *ts'ê ming* to the next line: »He went to meet the king; the written-down charge said«. This is less good, for the first lines following are evidently the *viva voce* speech of the officiant.

2000. Huang hou p'ing yü ki tao yang mo ming 70. For *tao* 71 = 72 'to lead, bring forward, to advance' in this phr. see Gl. 1866.

A. PK'ung: »The august sovereign (sc. the dead king), leaning on the jade stool, brought forward and manifested his last (order =) will«. This refers directly to the first lines of our chapter.

— B. Sun Sing-yen: »Oh, august sovereign, lean on the jade stool and (listen to) the manifested remaining order (of the dead king)«. Sun has to supply a »listen to« which is not in the text.

2001. Ming ju si hün lin kün Chou pang 73.

A. PK'ung: »He ordered you (to continue =) to follow up the instructions, to look down upon and govern the state of Chou«. PK'ung thus divides after *hün*, which makes good

昌 32 上宗 43 小宗 伯 44 同 42 銅 43 酒杯 44 爵 45 瓚 46 琖 47 璋 48 璚 49 鐘 50 其求鉞鐘也 50.

月 51. 昌 52 帽 53 璚 54 琖 55 卣 56 卣 57 卣 58 斗 59 若用琖 60 玉瓚 61 以異同乘璋 62 以卣 63 月 64 上宗奉卣(月)瓚 65 御玉冊命 66 御 67 嚮 68 迓 69 以冊命 68 進 69 飲御諸友 70 皇后憑玉几道揚末命 71 道 72 導 73 命汝嗣訓臨君周邦 74 嗣守文武之大訓 75 率循大卞

rhythm, and *sī hūn* is obviously a shorter way of expressing what we had earlier in our chapter: 74 »to continue to keep Wen's and Wu's great instructions«. — B. Chuang Shu-tsu punctuates after *sī*: »He ordered you to succeed (to the throne), and to instruct and look down upon the state of Chou«. Since he could not, for rhythmical reasons, read *míng jū sī, hūn lín kūn Chou pāng*, he had to eliminate the *kūn* as an »erroneous word«. Chuang has entirely missed the parallel in the preceding paragraph.

2002. Shuai sūn ta pien 75.

A. Wang Su and PK'ung define *pien* 76 as = 77 'law', and explain: »Leading (your subjects) to follow the great laws«. Ts'ai Ch'en modifies this only in taking *shuai sūn* as a binome of synonyms: »to follow the great laws«. Kiang Sheng believes that this is an extension of meaning from 78 (the same graph as 76) 'cap': the regular, correct cap, hence generally: 'regular, rule, law'. This is very unlikely. Yü Yüé better: 78 (76) **b'ian* / *b'ian* / *pien* is loan char. for 79 **b'ian* / *b'ian* / *pien* 'to distinguish, discriminate', hence 'to regulate, regulation' (Chu Tsün-sheng's idea that it is loan char. for *hien* 80 is, of course, phonetically impossible). — B. Sun Sing-yen tries to prove a meaning 81 'charge, task', but there are no text par. and it makes poor sense with *shuai sūn*. — C. Chang Ping-lin: A Han stone inscription quotes a line in Yao tien: 82, where the Kuwen text has 83, see Gl. 1213. This shows that in Han time *pien* 76 (**b'ian*) could be used as loan char. for 84 (**plian*). We find in Chuang: T'ien yün 85 »Those who comply with the great changes and in nothing are obstructing«. Our *sūn ta pien* in Shu here is the same as the *sūn ta pien* in Chuang. Cf. Yi: Hi ts'i, hia 86 »They (the rulers) understood fully the changes (transformations, evolutions in the world), and so caused the people not to become fatigued«. — C is very tempting, in view of the Chuang par. But the ancient interpr. (A) in Yü's formulation is phonetically superior.

2003. Miao miao yü mo siao tsī 87.

A. PK'ung renders *mo* by 88 »worthless« and Legge defines it as »trifling, insignificant«. All the later comm. treat *mo siao* as a synonym-compound = 'small, insignificant'. — B. Couvreur: »Minimus ego, novissimus parvus filius«, thus taking *mo* 89 in its sense of 'last': »Very insignificant am I, the (last small child =) small child, last of our line«. *Mo* has this sense of 'last' only a couple of lines earlier: 90 »the last (order =) will« and should have the same here.

2004. Wang san su 91.

A. Cheng Hün: *su* 92 (**sîók*) stands for the homophonous *su* 93 (**sîók*), which in Erya is defined as = 94 'to advance'. Thus: »The king thrice stepped forward«. Cheng here tries to connect it with the fundamental sense of 'grave, dignified', saying that it means 95 'slowly to walk forward'. But when *su* 93 means 'to advance', it means just the opposite. In Ode 257 we find: 96 (Cheng again: *su* 93 = 94) »The people have an eager mind« (but you keep them back) — *su* here means 'to hurry, to be eager to advance'. In fact 93 (as a loan char.) often means 'swift, to hurry' (see Gl. 54 a. o.), and this **sîók* is closely cognate to 97 (**suk*). In some text cases where *su* 92 itself has been defined as = 'to advance', it is indeed in quite the same conditions: Yili: Shī kuan li 98 and Yili: T'ê sheng kuei sī li 99. In both phr. Cheng Hün says 92 = 94: »He causes to advance the guest« (»the representative of the dead«). But Cheng himself adds that *su* 92 here is equal to both *su* 93 and *su* 97, and in fact the fundamental sense is this: »He hurries up the guest«, i. e. urges him to come. Thus when *su* (**sîók*, whether wr. 92 or 93) means 94, it always contains the notion of 'to hurry' and 'to speed up', which certainly does not suit our Shu passage here. — B. Kiang Sheng: *su* 92 is a short-form for 100 (*sîók* / *sîuk* / *so*) 'to strain wine', well known from Tso: Hi 4. Thus: »The king thrice strained the wine«. — B is strikingly plausible.

2005. K' i n e n g e r (luan =) s i s i f a n g 1. As to 2 l u a n for 3 = 4 s i 'to regulate, govern' see Gl. 1464.

A. PK'ung: e r 5 = 6 (common): »How can I e r like (my father and grandfather) govern the (regions of the) four quarters«. — B. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen simply take e r as the particle, enclitic to the verb n e n g : »How can I govern (the regions of) the four quarters?«. E r in this function is well known. Our n e n g e r here is quite analogous to the t ê e r 7 'to be able', e. g. Meng: Tsin sin, shang 8 »How could Shun forbid it«. — C. Wang K'ai-yün: n e n g 9 means 'to be kind to': »How can I be kind to and govern . . .«, as in Ode 253, phr. 10 » . . . be kind to the near ones«, see Gl. 917. This is quite plausible in itself, but the par. adduced under B makes this simpler solution preferable. — A. Liu Feng-lu believes that n e n g 9 means 11 and that the following e r 11 is a wrongly added char.; very unlikely.

2006. a. W a n g s a n s u s a n t s i s a n t s ê 12;

b. T ' a i p a o s h o u (t' u n g =) k i a t s i t s i t s ê 13.

In a., the king thrice strains the wine (see the preceding gloss), thrice sacrifices (i. e. makes libation) and thrice t s ê 14. In b., the grand guardian sacrifices (makes libation), puts the vessel to his lips and t s ê 15. In both cases the last word describes the final phase of the libation rite; it should be clear that in spite of the slight difference in graph (an additional radical in a), the final word is the same in both lines. Lu Tê-ming has even seen a version which had the graph 15 (without radical) in line a. as well as in line b. There has been great uncertainty as to the readings. In line a., Shîwen reads 14 alt. *t a g / t a / c h a and *t â g / t u o / t u; Sû Miao, on the other hand, reads it alt. t' â k / t' â k / t' o and t' â g / t' â g / c h ê. Shuowen and Ma Jung read 17 *t â g / t u o / t u, defining this as meaning 'to deposit the vessel' (on the ground); PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en follow this definition. In line b., Shîwen reads 15 in its ordinary way: *d' â k / d' v k / t s ê, and says that Ma Jung did so; but Sû Miao read it *d' â k / d' u o / t u (like 16).

A. Ma Jung, since he read 17 *t â g / t u o / t u in line a: » . . . thrice he deposited (the vessel)«, but 15 *d' â k / d' v k / t s ê 'to dwell, to occupy a position, to take up a position' in line b: » . . . he (took his position =) returned to his place«, treats the lines differently and cannot be accepted. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en follow Ma, though we do not know how the former read the char. in a. (Ts'ai of course follows Shîwen). — B. Cheng Hsian paraphrases line a. by 18 »retired and returned to his original place«, which makes it evident that Shîwen's alt. text which had 15 without radical in a. just as well as in b. was really Cheng's version. Cheng is quite consistent: a: » . . . thrice he (took his position =) returned to his place«; b: » . . . he (took his position =) returned to his place«. — C. Su Shî (Sung time) proposes that 14 in a. means 'to carry (the vessel) to the lips' (concluded from the analogy of t s i 19 in b), an arbitrary speculation. — D. Kiang Sheng follows Ma Jung and Shuowen for line a: 17 *t â g / t u o / t u: » . . . thrice he deposited (the vessel)«. But in line b. he considers t s ê 15 as a variant for 16 (very common) in the reading *d' â k / d' u o / t u 'to measure': » . . . he (measured =) drank moderately«. Sû Miao had already proposed this

76. 卡 77. 法 78. 弁 79. 辨 80. 憲 81. 休 82. 於 卡 時 雍 83. 於 變 84. 變 85. 惟 循 大 變 無 所 淫 86. 通 其 變
使 民 不 倦 87. 眇 眇 才 末 小 子 88. 淺 末 89. 末 90. 末 命 91. 王 三 宿 92. 宿 93. 肅 94. 進 95. 徐 行 前 96.
民 有 肅 心 97. 速 98. 乃 宿 賓 99. 乃 宿 尸 100. 縮 1. 其 能 而 亂 四 方 2. 亂 3. 嗣 4. 司 5. 而 6. 如 7.
得 而 8. 舜 惡 得 而 禁 之 9. 能 10. 柔 遠 能 通 11. 而 12. 王 三 宿 三 祭 三 咤 13. 大 保 受 剛 辟 祭 齊
宅 14. 宅 15. 宅 16. 度 17. 訖 18. 卻 復 本 位 19. 齊 20. 訖 21. 上 宗 曰 饗 22. 適 爾 皇 祖 某 甫 饗 23. 大 保

reading in b. and possibly interpreted like Kiang; but in line a. he had taken 14 (or 17) as loan-word for 20 *t'ák / t'ák / t' o 'to entrust', which here would mean 'to deposit', which is far-fetched. Kiang, who interprets a. and b. differently, cannot be accepted. — E. Sun Sing-yen has realized this, and would carry through the 17 of line a. also in line b., considering 15 there as a short-form. But this is vetoed by the context: »... he deposited the vessel» immediately followed by: »he handed the vessel to the t s u n g - j e n» does not make sense. — The earliest glossist who is consistent is Cheng Hūan (B), and it is evident (with Yü Yüe) that he is right. The enlarged characters 17 and 14 in line a., and the various pronunciations of them are due to speculating Han scholars.

2007. Sh a n g t s u n g y ü e h i a n g 21.

A. PK'ung: »The high master of rites said (sc. to the king): (enjoy it =) taste it!» Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen accept this, because in Yili: Shī yū li there is the line: 22 »Go to [the shrine of] your great ancestor so-and-so and (enjoy =) eat», where h i a n g then is an exhortation. But we should observe that this is an exhortation to the spirit of a dead man, who is exhorted to enjoy the sacrificial food. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »The high master of rites said: it has been enjoyed (sc. by the spirit of the dead king)». The Yili par., adduced under A, speaks rather in favour of B here, h i a n g being a technical term for the »enjoying» on the part of Spirits sacrificed to.

2008. T' a i p a o k i a n g s h o u c h u h o u c h' u m i a o m e n s i 23.

A. PK'ung punctuates: t' a i p a o k i a n g, s h o u, c h u h o u etc. and defines s h o u 24 'to gather in' as = 25 'to remove' the utensils: »The grand guardian descended; they removed (the utensils); the princes went out through the temple gate and waited». Cf. Tso: Chao 28, phr. 26 »He followed the servants who removed the vessels». — B. Chuang Shu-tsu: s h o u 27 is a corruption of y i 28, the small seal forms being similar (s h o u 29, y i 30): »The grand guardian descended, and (taking =) with the princes went out.». — C. Wang K'ai-yün would take c h u h o u as the object of s h o u: »The grand guardian descended and (gathered in the princes to go out =) directed the princes to go out...» — D. Yü Sing-wu: s h o u is a corruption of a 31, and this is the same as p a n 32 which again is the same as p' a n 33 'to turn round'. Exceedingly far-fetched. — No reason to abandon the oldest interpr. which has a good and decisive text par.

Here follows the chapter »K'ang Wang chī kao» which was originally a part of the Ku ming above.

2009. K i e p u s h e n g h u a n g c h u 34.

A. Cheng Hūan, foll. by PK'ung: »They (the princes) all displayed the four-horse teams of (horses that were) yellow with red (manes)». Quite apart from the arbitrariness of explaining h u a n g c h u »yellow-red» as = »yellow with red (manes), nothing in the text indicating the »mane», the whole line is exceedingly unnatural: the feudal princes are solemnly guided by their leaders to the presence of the king inside the principal gate; why this sudden introduction of their horse teams, which, since the princes were numerous, could certainly not find space to be p u »set forth, displayed» in the court-yard? — B. The Kin-wen version, as quoted in Po hu t'ung: Fu mien, read: k i e f u f u y i h u a n g c h u f u 35. From the context it is clear that the last f u 36 *p'iwat is here merely a variant for 37 or 38 *p'iwat / p'iwat / f u 'knee cover', which word is also sometimes written 39 (*p'iwat). With Po hu t'ung our line would then mean (for f u - f u 48 see Gl. 1321): »They all had white-and-black-figured and black-and-blue-figured robes, and yellowish-red knee-covers». It is, however, discernible that the two words y i 40 and f u 41 did not belong to the original Kin-wen Shu text but are elucidating additions in Po hu t'ung, for in Han shu: Wei Hien chuan we find that Wei Meng (early W. Han time) in a verse wrote: 42 (var. 43), which certainly is an allusion to the Kin-wen Shu. Here we see that

it is only the first word *f u* 44 'black-and-white-figured' that refers to the robe, and that the second: 43 or 45 (both **piwat*) are only variants for 37 or 38 **piwat* »knee-cover«, for we have *ch u f u* 46 »red knee-covers« as a standing phrase (e. g. Odes 178, 189). We can thus reestablish the Kin-wen line thus: *kie f u f u h u a n g c h u* 47 »They all had black-and-white-figured (robes) and knee-covers which were yellow and red«. But since the combination *f u f u* 48 is so common as a binome in the sense of 'black-and-white-figured' and 'black-and-blue-figured' (see Gl. 1321), Pan Ku in Po hu t'ung fell for the temptation to take the second word 43 (**piwat*), not as a variant for 38 (**piwat*) 'knee-cover', which is correct, but as meaning 'black-and-blue-figured' and referring to the robe, and then he had to introduce, at the end, a new 41 **piwat* 'knee-cover' instead of the 43 which he had misunderstood. Further, as pointed out by Sun Sing-yen, it is easy to see how the meaningless *p u s h e n g* 49 of the Ku-wen (A above) has arisen. The first *f u* (**piwo*) 44 has been written without radical 50 (Chou fashion), and so has the second *f u* (**piwat*): 37. In the small seal script current at the beginning of Han, 50 was 51 and *p u* 52 was 53; they were easy to confuse. And *f u* 37 was in the small seal simply 54, whereas *s h e n g* 55 was 56, again a considerable similarity which has led to the wrong reading *s h e n g*.

2010. *P i n c h ' e n g f e n g k u e i k i e n p i* 57.

A. Cheng Hün: *p i n* »the guests« refers to the princes (sc. of K'i and Sung) who were descendants of the Hia and Yin houses: »The guests (from K'i and Sung) lifted and presented« etc. Very far-fetched. — B. PK'ung: *p i n* »guests« simply refers to all the princes: »The guests (sc. princes) lifted and presented their kuei tesserae and at the same time their presents, and said«. Cf. Chouli: Ta tsung po: 58 »With the ceremonies of guests he treats kindly the (rulers of) the feudal states«. — C. Wu Yi: *p i n* 59 is a short-form for 60: »The introducer (lifted, mentioned =) announced the kuei-holders and their presents, saying«. — C is quite possible, but there is really no reason for abandoning B, which has no loan speculation.

2011. *W a n g y i s i t ê t a p a i* 61.

A. PK'ung: »The king, righteously continuing the virtue (of his predecessors), returned the salute«. Kiang Sheng turns it slightly differently: »The king, who was due to succeed to the virtue (of his predecessors), returned the salute«. — B. Chuang Shu-tsu: *s i* 62 is a loan char. for 63, and *t ê* 64 means 65 'to ascend' (criticized in Gl. 1342, 1477): *y i t s ' i* 66 would mean 67: »The king (rightly =) in full earnest refused (the gifts), and he (ascended =) went forward and returned the salute«. Very speculative. — C. Yü Yüe: In Tso: Siang 14 we find the line: *k ü n y i s i y e* 68 »You are the rightful heir«. This shows that *y i s i* is a binome and that we should punctuate after it. *T ê* 64 was originally 69 and *t ' ê* 70 can also be wr. 71. Cf. Ode 45, in which to the *t ' ê* 70 in the Mao version corresponds Han version 72 as short-form for 71 = 70, see fully in Gl. 129. Thus here 64 should be 70 (we should express it thus: the orig. graph has been 72 without radical, Chou fashion, and this has been wrongly enlarged into 69 i. e. 64 inst. of into 71, i. e. 70).

降收諸侯出廟門後 24. 收 25 徹 26 從使之收器者 27. 收 28 以 29 訖 30 已 31 般 32 般 33 盤 34.
皆市乘黃朱 35 皆黼黻衣黃朱紃 36 紃 37. 市 38. 市 39. 黻 40. 衣 41 紃 42 黼衣朱紃 43 黻 44 黼
45 紃 46 朱 47 皆黼 48 皆黻 49 紃 50 紃 51 紃 52 紃 53 紃 54 紃 55 紃 56 紃
57 紃 58 紃 59 紃 60 紃 61 紃 62 紃 63 紃 64 紃 65 紃 66 紃
義詞 67 固辭 68 君義嗣也 69 惠 70 特 71 特 72 直 73 司士 74 特 75 特 76 誡受美若 77 美 78.

In Chouli: *Sī shī* 73 we have the term *t'ê y i* 74 »to salute separately, one by one«, which suits the context here admirably (we have the word 75 in the next line). Thus: »The king, as the rightful heir, returned the salute to them one by one«. C is quite convincing.

2012. *Tan shou yu jo* 76.

A. Ma Jung says that *yu* 77 = 78, and PK'ung in consequence interprets: »They greatly received (Heaven's) *yu* way and *jo* agreed with it«. But that is wrong, for the Han scholars considered *yu* 77 as a variant of *yu* 79 and *yu* 80, and when they defined it as = *tao* 78 that really meant *tao* 81 »to lead, to guide' (this abbreviation being exceedingly common see Gl. 1866): Ode 23, phr. 82 »a fine gentleman entices her« (Mao: *yu* = 78); Ode 254, phr. 83 »Heaven's guiding the peoples« (variant 79) (Mao *yu* = 78). Thus Ma's gloss is only a repetition of Mao's and if the identification of our *yu* 77 with *yu* 79 (80) were right, we should have to interpret: »They greatly received the (lead =) inducement and agreed with it«. Now, however, 79 was **ziôg / iqu / yu*, and our *yu* 77 must have been a **giüg / jiqu / yu*, since it has the phonetic *kiu* 84 (**kiüg*). It is true that Ts'ie yün and Shiwen give it as *iqu* inst. of *jiqu*, but that is precisely because they believed it to be a variant of 79 and corrected the Sui time reading accordingly (we must emendate it into *jiqu*). This word is for the rest only known from the place name Yu-li 85, the place where Wen Wang had been imprisoned. — B. Shuowen defines *yu* 77 as = 86 »to bring forward to goodness«, i. e. »to lead on, to induce«, merely another formulation of the idea of *tao* 81 »to lead, to guide' in A above. But Kiang Sheng has seized upon the *tsin* 87 in this Shuowen definition, taking it in its intransitive sense: »They received it and *yu* went forward and *jo* agreed with it«. Sun Sing-yen, on the other hand, seized upon the *shan* 88 in the Shuowen definition: »They greatly received it and well agreed with it«. Two warning examples of bad philological method. — C. Su Shī would refer to the story of Wen Wang's imprisonment in Yu-li: »They greatly received the Yu(-li) favourableness«, i. e. the mandate was favourable all from the episode of Yu-li. A desperate attempt. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en quotes »somebody« who proposed that *yu* 77 here is a corruption of *kü e* 89 (this corruption then has taken place in Han time, for in Chou inscriptions the word *kü e* 89 was written 90). It is easily seen that if *kü e* 89 is written without radical: 91, then 92 and 93 could easily be corrupted into 94 and 95. Thus: *tan shou kü e jo* 96. In Li cheng we had *chī kü e jo* 97 »to know the suitable ones« and later in our present chapter we have *sü kü e jo*, see below. These parallels form a good support and the emendation is strikingly plausible. The word *jo* 98 however, meaning »to agree, to accord with, to be suitable' has many applications, and one of them is transitive: »to consider as suitable, to approve of', as in Ode 212, phr. 99 »The descendant approves of it«. So we have it here: »They grandly received its approval«. — We examine further:

Yung feng sü kü e jo 100.

A. PK'ung: »(You should) using (your hearts) carry anxiety about your according with (the right way)«, a dreadful construction. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »Thus attend upon (my) anxieties, and (accord with them =) act in accordance with them«. Ts'ai paraphrases the latter part: 1, where *k' i* 2 is the modal particle: »May you accord with them«; but *kü e* 3 can only mean *k' i* 2 as a genitive pronoun, it is never a modal particle. Ts'ai has played upon the double meanings of the word *k' i* 2. — C. Kiang Sheng: Shuowen says *sü* 4 = 5 »to receive' and Erya says *jo* 6 = 88 »good', thus: »Thus you shall *feng - sü* receive *kü e jo* what is good«. But, as pointed out by Tuan Yü-ts'ai, the *shou* 5 »to receive' in the current Shuowen makes no sense and is certainly a corruption of *kiu* 7 »to succour' (a good definition of *sü* 4), which the Yü p'ien has. — D. We should not read *feng* and *sü* together; the line probably means: »*yung thus feng* in your service *sü kü e jo* zealously attend to the suitable«.

2013. Wei sin chi wang 8.

A. PK'ung: »The king who has recently ascended (the throne)«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en and most foll. comm.: »The recently (ascended =) deceased king«, i. e. Ch'eng Wang. Ch'i is a technical term for the death of a ruler, see Gl. 1294.

2014. Wu huai wo kao tsu kua ming 9.

Kua ming 10 does not mean, with PK'ung, 11 »(rarely existing =) remarkable orders (teaching)«, but kua 'single-standing, alone, unique' refers to the sovereign, who is one, as opposed to the people, the many (kua jen »the single-standing man«) see Gl. 812; thus: »the sovereign mandate«. Yü Sing-wu would change huai 12 into 13 (the orig. graph having been simply 14) and says that wu 15 is »a particle« not to be translated. Thus: »think of our great ancestor's . . .« etc. This is surely no improvement.

2015. P'ei p'ing fu pu wu kiu 16.

A. PK'ung: »They were great (in their principles), and just and fine (in their government), they were not keen on (people's) faults«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »They were grandly just and fu enriched (the people)«. — C. Kiang Sheng »They were grandly just and enriching (so that the people) did not go in for crimes«. — D. Sun Sing-yen: fu 17 (*p'üg) is loan char for 18 (*b'üg), and wu 19 stands for mao 20, p'ing 21 meaning 22: »(Their principles) were great and perfected, and they did not expose themselves to faults«. (Yü Sing-wu in the same way takes nearly every char. as a loan char. for something else; too long to be repeated here). — E. Yü Yü repeats p'ing 21 = 22, and says that fu 17 stands for fu 23: »They grandly achieved their happy (actions) and were not bent on (committing) faults«. But p'ing 21 means 22 in the sense of 'to pacify, achieve peace', but certainly not 'to achieve, to carry out' generally. — F. Sun Yi-jang: 19 *m'ug / m'iu / wu is loan char. for 24 *m'iu / m'iu / wu 'to maltreat'. This is not quite correct, see in detail Gl. 413. In fact 19 stands for 25 *m'ug / m'iu / wu 'to maltreat', which is synonymous with 24; Mao Kung Ting inscr. 26 corresponds to Shu: K'ang kao 27. Thus here: »They grandly tranquillized and enriched (the people) and they did not maltreat or incriminate (them)«. — G. Chang Ping-lin: p'ei 28 should be read pu 29; p'ing 21 = 22, fu 17 = 23 and wu 19 after Shuowen means 30: »They did not (seek to) achieve happiness, and hence they did not wu run to kiu calamity«. A comical attempt. — F is incomparably superior to the rest.

2016. Ch'i chi ts'i sin yung chao ming yü t'ien hia 31.

A. Ma Jung punctuated after ts'i, but we do not know how he understood the line for the rest. Since Erya says ts'i 32 = 33 '(equal =) just', Kiang Sheng follows up Ma thus: »They brought about the 34 highest ts'i justness, and through their sincerity became illustrious in the world«. — B. PK'ung punctuates after sin: »They brought about to (practise) the most highly just and reliable (principles) . . .«. — C. Ts'ai punctuates after ch'i 34: »They effected their utmost, and (adjusted =) brought to perfection their sincerity . . .«. — D. Sun Sing-yen again follows Ma's interpunctuation, but since Erya has an entry ch'i 35 = 36, he interprets: »They (halted =) rested in a perfect justness . . .«. — E. Another interpr. It should be remembered that the preceding line

道 79 訪 80 牒 81 導 82 吉士 訪之 83 天之 牒民 84 久 85 美里 86 進善 87 進 88 善 89 厥 90 1 91
 狀 92 第 93 又 94 羊 95 久 96 誡受厥若 97 知厥若 98 若 99 曾孫是若 100 用奉恤厥若 1 其順
 承之 2 其 3 厥 4 恤 5 收 6 若 7 救 8 惟新 防王 9 無壞我高祖 寡命 10 寡命 11 寡有之
 教命 12 壞 13 壞 14 衰 15 無 16 丕平 富不務咎 17 富 18 備 19 務 20 昌 21 平 22 成 23 福 24 侮 25
 教 26 教 鯀 27 侮 鯀 28 丕 29 不 30 趣 31 底至齊信用昭明于天下 32 齊 33 中 34 至 35 底

described their attitude towards the people, and this line is the conclusion, telling of the result: **They caused them to come to a (uniform =) universal fidelity, and they became illustrious in the world.**

2017. Yung tuan ming yü Shang ti 37.

A. PK'ung: »Thus they (received) a (straight, upright =) correct mandate from God on High». Thus the essential word, sc. the verb of the clause, has to be supplied. — B. Kiang Sheng tries to ameliorate this by taking *t u a n* as a verb: »Thus they made straight their mandate from God on High», whatever that may mean. — C. Yü Yüe: *t u a n* 38 often means 39 'beginning, to begin', as in Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou 40 »that is the first beginning of goodness». Our line then means: **Thus they began their mandate from God on High.**

2018. Huang t'ien yung hün küe tao 41.

A. PK'ung: *hün* 42 = *shun* 43: »August Heaven (agreed with =) approved of their principles». It is true that *hün* 42 'to teach' can sometimes mean *shun* 43, properly: 'to be taught, to become docile, compliant', but that is not applicable here: Heaven was not »docile» in regard to the principles of Wen and Wu. — B. Yü Sing-wu: **August Heaven therefore (taught =) announced its way.**

2019. Suei ersien kung ch'ch'en fu yü sien wang 44.

A. PK'ung, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: »(Find peace in =) be satisfied with the former princes' serving the former kings» (sc. and imitate it). — B. Lin Chi-k'i: **»(Tranquillize =) appease those your former princes who served the former kings»,** sc. by being equally loyal as they. — C. Sun Sing-yen: *suei* 45 is a fault for *juei* 46, which in Erya is defined as = 47 'to continue': »Continue your former princes' serving the former kings». This would be the best solution, but unfortunately there are no ex. of *juei* meaning 'to continue'. *Juei* means 'tassel, free-hanging end of a band' and that is why Erya defines it as a *ki* 47 'continuation'. — B takes *suei* in its normal and commonest sense: 'to tranquillize, to give peace to, to soothe, to comfort'. *Suei* in the sense of A is an extension of meaning that is very forced.

Yung feng sü küe jo see Gl. 1012.

Lü hing.

2020. Wei Lü ming wang hiang kuo po nien... 48.

Lü 49 was **gl̥io* / *liwo* / *l̥ü*. The prince in question is also often called the prince of Fu 50 (**piwo* / *piu* / *f u*) and our chapter *Lü hing* 51 (so quoted in Mo-tsi: *passim*) is quoted Fu hing 52 in Li ki (*passim*). It is not very probable that these are two modes of writing one and the same name (**bl̥iwo*?). Many Ts'ing scholars believe that of the names Fu and Lü the one was that of the city and the other that of the princely family. Ch'en K'iao-tsung propounds that Lü was the family name, referring to Kyü: Chou yü, hia: »He was given the clan-name Kiang, 53 and his family name was lord of Lü»; but here again Wei Chao soberly points out that *y u L ü* »lord of Lü» means that the name of the state Lü was used as family name. Other commentators argue that Lü was the name of the fief in early Chou time but that it was changed into Fu in Süan Wang's time (see Chavannes MH. I, p. 259); this, however, is a mere construction based on Ode 259, mentioning the state of Fu, an ode which is generally ascribed to Süan Wang: since we have Fu and not Lü here (the comm. argue), the name must have been changed from Lü into Fu not later than Süan Wang's time(!). All this is scholastics. We can know no more than that the two names are synonymous.

A. Si-ma Ts'ien evidently punctuated after *w a n g*, for he paraphrases 54. His formulation shows that he took *ming* 55 in its sense of 'to instruct'. Thus: »Lü instructed

the king; (the latter) had enjoyed the realm a hundred years». *Ming* is common in this sense, and it is not excluded that the term could be used about a trusted adviser »instructing» his sovereign (cf. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, shang 56 »Jan Yu brought back the instruction» sc. from Mencius to the prince). — B. Cheng Hün and PK'ung: »The (prince of) Lü got a charge; the king had enjoyed the throne . . .». Both add that the prince was nominated as one of the highest dignitaries; for this there is no text support, it is merely a conclusion from the context here. It is better to take *Lü ming* as a subordinate clause: »When (the prince of) Lü got his charge, the king had enjoyed the state a hundred years». — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: The three words *wei Lü ming* »as to the charge of Lü» are an introductory phrase serving to indicate that the following is a speech of Lü's, who in his turn says: »the king has said . . .». There is really nothing in the text itself in favour of this forced construction.

2021. Wang hiang kuo po nien 57.

A. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: K'i shou) interprets as the line stands: »The king had enjoyed the state a hundred years». Wang adds that he was 34 years of age when he ascended the throne, thus dying at 134. The »100 years» exclude his years before ascending the throne. In a legend theme there is nothing remarkable in this. — B. Sī-ma Ts'ien (Chou pen ki): the king was 50 when he came on the throne, and held it 55 years, thus dying at more 100 years. Lietsi: Chou Mu Wang says that »he could exhaust the joys of his lifetime and died after 100 years». According to these latter authors the »100 years» include the years before ascending the throne, and we have to translate: »The king, having enjoyed the throne, was 100 years old», which is rather forced. — There are par. in Shu: Wu yi which clearly confirm A: 58 »Thus Tsu Kia's enjoying the state was 33 years» etc.

Mao huang tu tso hing see Gl. 1506. Yi k' i sī fang see Gl. 1962.

2022. Jo ku yu hün 59.

A. Wang Su, foll. by PK'ung: »Agreeing with the ancient (principles) there are teachings». — B. Legge: »According to the teachings of ancient times». — C. Wang Sien-k'ien: jo is merely the initial particle. For Shu parallels see Gl. 1207, 1611. Thus: »(Anciently =) from ancient times we have the teaching».

Wang pu k'outsei ch' i yi kien kiu see Gl. 1914.

2023. To jang kiao k'ien 60.

A. PK'ung paraphrases the last two words *kiao k'ien* thus: 61, evidently basing himself on Erya *k'ien* 62 = *ku* 63 'solid, safe, steady'. PK'ung probably meant: »They snatched and robbed, *kiao* simulating *k'ien* a safe possession» (sc. through royal backing). Meng K'ang (Han shu: Wu ti pen ki) in comm. on an edict of 117 B. C., which uses the phr. *kiao k'ien* (var. 64), explains: »They snatched and robbed, *kiao* and forged (royal orders) and *k'ien* safeguarded (themselves by bribes)». — B. Cheng Hün: *kiao k'ien* means 65 'to molest'. He does not explain how these words could have that sense. Similarly Wei Chao says that *k'ien* 62 means 'to take by force, to plunder', without corroborative evidence. — C. Ts'ai Ch'en: *k'ien* means 'to kill', a well-attested meaning (Shi, Tso, see Gl. 1024). Thus: »Snatchers and plunderers and forgers and killers».

36.止 37.用端命于上帝 38.端 39.始 40.仁之端 41.皇天用訓厥道 42.訓 43.順 44.綏爾先公之臣服于先王 45.綏 46.綏 47.繼 48.惟呂命王享國百年 49.呂 50.甫 51.呂刑 52.甫刑 53.氏曰有呂 54.甫侯言於王 55.命 56.然友反命 57.王享國百年 58.肆祖甲之享國三十三年 59.若古有訓 60.奪攘矯虔 61.矯稱上命若固有之 62.虔 63.固 64.矯虔 65.撓擾 66.苗民弗用靈 67.苗

2204. Miao min fu yung ling 66.

A. This is PK'ung's version. »The Miao people did not use goodness«. — B. Li: Tsi yi quotes 67 »The Miao people did not (use =) obey the orders (of the sovereign)«. This makes poor sense in the context and probably ming 68 is a corruption of ling 69, which like ling 70 can mean 'good'. — C. Mo: Shang t'ung, chung quotes 71. Several Ts'ing scholars have proposed that since ling 69 could rime in the -n class (in the Shī it must have been read alternatively *liěng and *liěn), this explains why a lien 72 could be used as loan char. for 69. That, however, is a poor explanation, since 72 was *glian / lien / lie n, and a *glian for *liěn is not convincing. Lien means *inter alia* 'to train, to improve by training', and the idea of the C text is obviously: »The Miao people did not use an improving training« (but severe punishments). Cf. Li: Yüe ling 73 »to select and train the excellent men«. This is perfectly in accord with the constantly recurring theme that you should first instruct 74 the people, and only afterwards, if they are still recalcitrant, punish them. — The two versions, A and C, are not reconcilable. C is the oldest attested and good in the context.

2025. Chī yi hing 75.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »They restrained by means of punishments«. — B. Mo: Shang t'ung, chung quotes chē tsē hing 76. Chē here makes no sense and obviously 77 (*iāt) is loan char. for 78 (*iād). Cf. Lun: Yen Yüan 79, in the Lu Lun version 80. Thus: »In order to restrain they punished«, which comes to practically the same as A.

2026. Shī yin wei yi (er, recte:) wa cho k'ing 81.

A. Shuowen has for cho 82 the variant cho 83 (both *tūk) 'to castrate', and quotes wa 84 inst. of the er 85 of the orthodox text and inverts the order: wa yi 86. Wang Yin-chī has shown that er 85 is merely a corruption, see Gl. 1640, and our Gl. 1063 should be corrected in consequence. Thus our A version means: »They started excessively to practise the cutting-off of the nose, the cutting off of the legs, the castration, the black-branding.« — B. K'ung Ying-ta (in comm. on Yao tien) tells us that the Ou-yang and Hia-hou schools read thus: shī yin wei pin kung yi ko t'ou shu k'ing 87. Pin 88 means 'knee' and here 'to cut the legs at the knees', thus corresponding to the wa 84 of the A text. And kung 89 obviously corresponds to the cho 90 'castration' of A. But for the rest the line has several moot points. Wang Ming-sheng reads ko t'ou together: 'to cut the head' and proposes that 91 *šiwag / šīwo / shu stands for 91 iio / tsīwo / chu; shu k'ing 92 thus meaning 'branding with infusion of a decoct', an obviously impossible interpr. Wang Yin-chī would invert the order of yi ko 93 into ko yi 94, so that kung - ko 95 'castration' becomes a binome. This is tempting, but in early Han time the word sequence was already pin kung yi, for Shang shu ta chuan expounds that such-and-such criminals should be punished by pin 88, the next by kung 89 and the next by yi 96. Further Wang proposes that t'ou shu k'ing 97 should be corrected into cho lu k'ing 98, which would mean branding on the face. A wild speculation. If we take the words of our (Kin-wen) B text here as they stand, we obtain: »They started excessively to practise pin 88 cutting of the (knees =) legs, kung 89 the castration, yi - ko 93 the nose-cutting, t'ou shu k'ing 97 and the head's several brandings«. This comes to exactly the same as the A (Ku-wen) text, only that it is more clumsily formulated. A is stylistically superior.

2027. Wang ch'a yu ts'i 99.

A. PK'ung: »They made no distinctions in regard to (such who) had (something to say =) a legitimate defense«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »They made no distinctions in regard to the pleading« (sc. of the accused, whether it was straight or not). — C. Sun Sing-yen: »They had no gradations, and they had no (proper) pleadings«. The word wang would then belong to both members: wang ch'a — wang yu ts'i, which is unlikely.

— D. Ts' i 100 'words, speech' has many applications. Y u t s ' i 'to have words (about one)' can mean 'to be notorious' (either 'to be famous' or 'to be ill-famed'), see Gl. 1804. It can also, with A above, mean 'to have (pleading =) an excuse' (as such we have it later in our chapter: 1 'The Miao people had no [pleading =] excuses'). But again it sometimes means 'to have indictments against' somebody (in our present chapter: 2 'they had indictments against Miao') or 'to have indictments against one', to be indicted, accused, as in To shi: 3 'There were none that had not indictments (against them) for punishment'. It is this last meaning which should be applied here as well: 'They made no distinctions in regard to those who (had indictments =) were indicted', which naturally connects with the preceding line: 'all alike were chastised'. In fact, interpr. A is in itself quite plausible. But that our interpr. D should be preferred is due to a strict par. later in our chapter, said of these same Miao: fei ch' a y ü y ü ch' i li 4 'They made no examination as to those assigned (for punishment) in criminal cases' (see Gl. 1907). This is practically a repetition of our present accusation fei ch' a y ü t s ' i against the Miao, and the par. is conclusive.

Min hing sü tsien see Gl. 1469.

2028. Min min fen fen 5.

A. PK'ung does not explain the words. K'ung Ying-ta defines min 6 (*mian) as = 7 'to imitate each other' and the phr. min fen = 8 'to practise making disorder'. No text support. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en defines min 6 as = 9 'darkened, confused', thus: 'Confused and disorderly'. This has been well confirmed by Wang Yin-chi and others, with good par., see Gl. 965 and 1648. — C. Han shu: Sü chuan reads mien mien fen fen 10, and so does Lun heng: Han wen. Yi Chou shu: Chai kung reads 11. The three fen are evidently Han-time variants (the orig. Chou graph having had no radical). Mien (*mian) again is a stem alternation with *mian in the binome *mian-p'iwän (*mian-p'iwän). Such an alternation -ian:-ian is not unknown, see Gl. 741 with examples. 2029. Wang chung yü sin 12.

A. K'ung Ying-ta paraphrases: 13 'They had no correct observance of good faith'. Ts'ai Ch'en's paraphrases: 14 'They no longer with good faith were together', which is not reconcilable with the Shu text. — B. Ch'en King: 'They had no (interior =) inner feelings in their good faith'. This is confirmed by Tso: Yin 3, where a moralizer says: 15 'If the good faith does not come from the (interior =) inner feelings, hostages are of no use'. — C. Yü Yüe: y ü 16 = y ü e 17, and this again is = 18 'together with, and', hence y ü 16 can mean 'and'. In this wild speculation Yü follows Wang Yin-chi. He adds: chung 19 is short for 20. Thus: 'They had no loyalty and good faith'. In fact, y ü 16 never means 'and'. — B is best supported.

2030. Yi fu tsu meng 21.

A. PK'ung: 'They (overthrew =) violated their oaths and covenants'. Fu 22 'to over-

民匪用命 68. 命 69 令 70 墨 71 苗民否用練 72 練 73 簡練桀俊 74 教 75 制以刑 76 折則刑 77. 折 78 制 79 折獄 80 制獄 81 始淫為剗 82 剗 83 斂 84 刑 85 則 86 剗 87 始淫為臠 88 宮剗 89 剗頭庶刺 90 臠 91 宮 92 桀庶 93 煮 94 庶刺 95 剗 96 剗 97 宮剗 98 剗 99 頭庶刺 100 剗 1. 苗民無辭 2. 有辭于苗 3. 罔非有辭于罰 4. 非察于獄之麗 5. 泯泯芬芬 6. 泯 7. 相似 8. 習為亂 9. 昏 10. 酒酒紛紛 11. 泯泯芬芬 12. 罔中于信 13. 無有中于信義 14. 無懷誠信相與 15. 信不由中貨無益 16. 于 17. 越 18. 與 19. 中 20. 忠 21. 以覆誼盟

throw' is common. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: *fu* = 23: 'They (only) repeated their oaths and covenants'. This is certainly no improvement.

2031. *Nüe wei shu lu* 24.

PK'ung punctuates after *wei*, and carries *shu lu* to the following: 'They tyrannized and overawed; and all the victims...' (declared their innocence). This is rhythmically bad; the four-word group constitutes a unity; *shu* 25 here is similar in function to the *chu* of classical texts, and the line equals *nüe wei chu lu* 26 'All those punished with a tyrannical severity'. Observe that *nüe wei* 'tyrannical severity' here stands in contrast to the phr. *tê wei* 27 'virtuous severity' further on in our chapter.

Fang kao wu ku yü shang see Gl. 1234.

2032. *Wang yu hing hiang tê hing fa wen wei sing* 28.

A. PK'ung punctuates after *hiang*: 'There was no fragrance (sc. in their actions); their *tê hing* (allegedly) righteous punishments spread out their smell, and it was rank'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after *tê*: 'There was no fragrant virtue, the smell sent out by the punishments was rank'. — **C.** Kiang Sheng, to whom it is an axiom that he should reject Ts'ai wherever possible, takes *tê* 29 = 30 'to arise' (criticized in Gl. 1342, 1477): 'There was no fragrance arising'. — **B** is simple and satisfactory and takes all the words in their ordinary sense. It may seem unnatural to have a bisyllabic epithet to *tê*: *hing-hiang tê*, but this is due to the rhythm: *wang yu hing hiang tê* — *hing fa wen wei sing*.

2033. *Pao nüe yi wei* 31.

This follows upon: 'The august sovereign felt grief and pity for the innocence of the punished ones'.

A. Wang Ch'ung (Lun heng: K'ien kao) quotes: *pao nüe yung wei* 32 and from the context it is clear that he understood: 'He requited the tyranny with (his) severity'. So also PK'ung explained the line, followed by most later comm. But this overlooks that in the preceding line we had the phr. *nüe wei* 33 'tyrannical severity', the two words belonging together and referring to the wicked Miao: they cannot very well here be separated, *nüe* referring to the Miao and *wei* to the requiting sovereign. — **B.** Sun Sing-yen has felt this, and tries to put another sense into Wang Ch'ung's (and our orthodox) line: 'The sovereign felt grief and pity for the innocence of the punished ones, (he hated) their (sc. the Miao's) requiting tyranny with severity'. Sun has then to supply a 'he hated' which is not in the text. — **C.** Kiang Sheng carries the first two words *pao nüe* to the preceding: 'He pitied the victims' not requiting the oppressors according to their crimes', and *yi wei* to the following. Very forced. — **D.** Another interpr.: 'He requited those who tyrannized with their severity', which suits both Wang Ch'ung's version and the orthodox one.

2034. *Wu shi yü hia* 34.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 35 'They had no hereditary (positions) in their inferior state'. — **B.** Kiang Sheng says that *hia* means *hia t'u* 'the earth (here) below'. — **C.** Sie Ki-süan (Sung time): 'They had no generations below', i. e. 'There were no descendants of them'. Convincingly plausible.

Nai ming Ch'ung Li etc. see Gl. 1727 and 1803 and a full discussion in BMFEA 18, p. 234—36.

2035. *K'ün hou chi tai tsai hia ming ming fei ch'ang* 36.

A. PK'ung: 'All the feudal princes, even to those in inferior (states), made bright the bright (principles) and *fei* supported *ch'ang* the regular laws'. — **B.** Ts'ai Ch'en: 'All the feudal princes and their subordinate (ministers) were very (bright =) pure-minded and supported the regular laws'. This is grammatically inadmissible, since it simply skips the *chi* 37 before *tai*. — **C.** Mo-tsi: Shang hien, chung, quotes: *k'ün hou*

chī sī tsai hia ming ming pu ch'ang 38. Kiang Sheng follows this and interprets: »(The people said:) That is what the feudal princes expose here below (sc. about the crimes of Miao); (the king) ming ming clearly investigated the irregularities». Sun Yi-jang, on the other hand, thinks that sī 39 should be li 40: »(The Miao) are subjoined to the feudal lords». An arbitrary emendation. — D. Sun Sing-yen returns to the orthodox text version, and quotes Erya: tai 41 = 42 'to stop, hinder'. He connects with the preceding: »... when the feudal princes stopped (the litigations); those below could distinguish the illustrious and support the regular laws». But Erya does not say that tai 41 means ngo 42; it says that ngo 42 'to stop' can mean tai 41 'to come to', thus properly 'to stop at, to pull up at', which is not applicable here. — E. Another interpr. Fei 43 stands for 44 'not', as frequently in the Shu (see Gl. 1609), and is correctly interpreted as = pu 45 by Mo-tsī. Fei ch'ang means precisely the same as fei yi 46 'irregular (practises)' later in our chapter, see Gl. 1767. For tsai hia 47 cf. Yao tien 48 »There is an unmarried man (below =) in a humble position». Here it means »those (below =) in low positions». K'ün hou 49 »all the feudatories» makes poor sense in this context: the whole passage, both before and after this line, describes the king's action against Miao. In the preceding line, as well as in the next-following, the king is called huang ti »the august sovereign». Here he is called kün hou 48 »the sovereign ruler». The Han scholars believed that kün 49 served as short-form for k'ün 50 (without radical, Chou fashion) and so they erroneously added the radical 123, undoubtedly because the phr. k'ün hou is common in earlier Shu chapters. But our phr. kün hou 48 is quite analogous to the huang hou 51 »the august ruler» in Ku ming. An indirect proof of kün 49 as the correct reading is furnished by Lu Tê-ming. In Shīwen he says about the phr. huang ti 52 in the first line: »kün ti 53 should be huang ti». This shows that Lu had seen some version with a kün 49 in this passage, but he has mixed it up: the kün should be in the phr. kün hou 48, not in a kün ti as variant for huang-ti. Thus our line kün hou chī tai tsai hia, ming ming fei ch'ang simply and naturally means: »When the sovereign ruler reached to those (below =) in low positions, he clearly elucidated the irregular practices (sc. of punishments)», which tallies well with the following: »even widowers were not prevented from speaking».

2036. Huang ti ts'ing wen hia min 54.

A. PK'ung renders ts'ing 'clear' by 55 'in detail', thus: »The august sovereign clearly inquired from the lower people», which was already the interpr. of Ma Jung. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »The august sovereign with a pure mind (i. e. unprejudiced) inquired . . .». — C. Yü Sing-wu: ts'ing wen 56 is equal to 57: »The august sovereign quietly listened» (Yü then reads hia min together with the following: »The lower people and the widowers and widows [58 *zīg = 59 *dīk] were tired of Miao», an exceedingly unlikely interpr.). — No reason whatever for abandoning the earliest interpr. (A).

Kuan kua yu ts'ī yü Miao see Gl. 1804. Tê wei wei wei etc. see Gl. 1310.

22.覆 23.灰覆 24.虐威庶戮 25.庶 26.虐威諸戮 27.德威 28.罔有罄奮德刑發聞惟腥 29.德 30.登 31.報虐以威 32.報虐用威 33.虐威 34.無世于下 35.無世位在下國 36.羣后之逮在下明 明榮常 37.之 38.羣后之肆在下明明不常 39.肆 40.隸 41.逮 42.過 43.隸 44.匪 45.不 46.隸 47.在下 48.有鰥在下 49.羣后 49.君后 50.羣 51.皇后 52.皇帝 53.君帝 54.皇帝清問下民 55.詳 56.清問 57.靜聞 58.有辭 59.有戮 60.恤功于民 61.憂施功於民 62.恤 63.致憂民之功 63.盡

2037. Sū kung yü min 60.

A. PK'ung has no explicit gloss. K'ung Ying-ta paraphrases: 61 'to be (anxious =) zealous about doing meritorious work for the people'. Sū 62 frequently has this sense of 'to be anxious, zealous about, anxiously to attend to' not only in the Shu but *passim* in the classics. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en would bring out a meaning 'to pity, compassionate' in sū (likewise common), and for this purpose he paraphrases: 63 'to effect the meritorious work of pitying the people', thus trying to make sū govern min, a curious trick which, of course, is unreconcilable with the Shu formulation. No better is Kiang Sheng's paraphrase: 63 b 'to (do to the utmost) a pitying work towards the people', in which he has to supply a verb tsin, as fundamental word in the construction, which is not in the text. C. Yü Yü: Shuowen says sū 62 can mean 64, and shou 64 can mean 'to gather together' in the sense of 'to bring to an end'. Thus here: 'To bring to an end (achieve) their work for the people'. But sū 62 most decidedly has no such meaning. Indeed shou 64 is merely a graphical corruption in the Shuowen of kiu 65, see Gl. 1012.

2038. Chê min wei hing 66.

A. PK'ung: chê 67 'to break off' = t'uan 68 'to break off, to decide', thus: 'He made (judicial) decisions about the people according to the laws'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: 'He broke the people's (perversities) by the punishments'. But wei 69 can certainly not mean yi 70. — C. Mo: Shang hien, hia quotes 71 and since Ma Jung says chê 67 = 72, he has considered chê 67 'to break' as merely a short-form for chê 73 'wise'. Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen then interpret: 'He (made wise) instructed the people (and only then) there were the punishments'. — D. Wang Yin-chi: chê 67 (*i_{iat}) and chê 73 (*t_{iat}) are both loan char. for chî 74 (î_{ad}), thus: 'For restraining the people there were the penal laws'. Indeed T'ao Ts'ien 75 (early 5th c.) has the reading 76. Cf. Lun: Yen Yüan 77, in the Lu version of Lun 78; further, we had earlier, in our chapter here, chî yi hing 79 'they restrained by means of punishments', which Mo: Shang t'ung, chung quotes chê tsê hing 80 (see Gl. 2025). This all goes to show that the characters chê 67 and chî 74 could be used for each other; this is decisive, the D meaning of the phrase being also by far the best.

2039. Chu ming shan ch'uan 81.

A. PK'ung: 'He presided over the naming of mountains and rivers'. Wang Fu (Ts'ien fu lun: Wu tê chî) reads 82; but ming 83 often has the same sense of 'to name, give name to' (Tso *passim*). — B. Kiang Sheng: chu 84 means 'the presiding Spirit' (of a mountain), here taken as verb: 'He instituted presiding Spirits for and gave name to mountains and rivers'. Somewhat far-fetched. — C. Couvreur: 'He presided over the famous mountain and rivers'. Poor rhythm. — A is not so inane as it might appear: Yü had the task of surveying a wide area and establishing an official record of it for government purposes. The 'naming', instituting authoritative denominations for all parts of the realm, was an important side of this task.

2040. Nung chî kia ku 85.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 86 'In the cultivated (acres) to produce the fine grains', thus taking nung as an adverb (locative). — B. Just as in Hung fan (see Gl. 1523), Cheng Hsün took nung 87 to be a short-form for 88 'thick, ample', so that Ts'ai Shen here says that nung means 89 'amply'; and just as there nung was in fact used in the sense of (to toil, toilingly =) 'energetically', so many Ts'ing scholars take it so here: 'He energetically planted . . .'. — C. Since nung fundamentally means 'agriculture, to cultivate' and the next words are chî kia ku 'plant the fine grains', it would be strange indeed if nung did not have its primary meaning. Nung-chî in fact must be a binome: (to cultivate-plant =) 'to cultivate', thus: 'He cultivated the fine grains'.

2041. Wei yin yü min 90.

A. This is the PK'ung version: «There was ampleness for the people». — B. Mo: Shang hien, shang reads wei kia yü min 91. — α . Kiang Sheng explains this as kia 93 = 92: «It (the meritorious work) reached to the (lower) people». — β . Sun Sing-yen, more fully expounded by Yü Yüe: since kia 93 often is synonymous with ko 94 in the sense of 'to arrive', and since the char. ko on the other hand also could mean 95 'to correct', kia should also have a meaning 95 'to correct' (an amusing paralogism): «It corrected the people». — γ . Sun Yi-jang: kia 93 is a loan char. for 96 (both *kã / ka / kia), as often in the Odes, thus: «There was (greatness =) ampleness for the people». — Since 97 and 98 are graphically similar, it seems probable that either yin is a fault for kia or vice versa; impossible to decide between them. With interpr. B γ the meaning will, in any case, be exactly the same.

2042. Shī chī po sing yü hing chī chung 99.

Po sing 100 does not mean 'the people', but 'the noble families, the gentry' (see Gl. 1212), here especially those in service, which PK'ung rightly brings out by paraphrasing: 1.

A. PK'ung: shī 'judge' refers to Kao Yao (as said to him in Yao tien: 2 «You shall be judge»). PK'ung does not gloss yü hing chī chung, thus taking it in its ordinary sense: «The judge (Kao Yao) restrained the (gentry =) officials in the midst of the punishments». — B. Liang T'ung (early 1st c. A. D.) in Hou Han shu: Liang T'ung chuan quotes: yü an chī po sing yü hing chī chung 3 «Then he (trimmed =) trained the gentry (i. e. officials) in the justness of the punishments». — Wang Ming-sheng believes that shī 4 is a deliberate emendation made by PK'ung. The 3 great dignitaries: Po Yi, Yü, Hou Tsi, have just been mentioned but not their compeer Kao Yao. Since he according to Yao tien was shī «judge», he should figure here in connection with the punishments; hence PK'ung replaced the yü an 5 by shī 4. This explanation is quite plausible. In any case, version B is attested several centuries earlier than version A and should be followed.

Shuai yi yü min fei yi see Gl. 1767.

2043. Tien yü fei ki yü wei ki yü fu 6. For tien see Gl. 1787.

A. PK'ung, as further expounded by K'ung Ying-ta: «The directors of criminal cases did not (stop in regard to =) refrain from severity, but they (stopped in regard to =) refrained from (riches =) bribes». He defines ki 7 as = 8. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: ki 7 = 9 'to exhaust': «The directors of criminal cases, not (only) exhausted (sc. the full severity of the laws) in regard to wei the powerful (people), they exhausted (it) in regard to the rich». An absurd idea that fei 10 could mean «not only». — C. Wang Yin-chi and Sun Sing-yen: fu 11 means fu 12 'happiness': «The directors of criminal cases did not end by (applying) severity, they ended by (creating) happiness». — D. Yü Sing-wu thinks that fu 11 *piüg stands for 13 *b'üük 'to submit, repress', which is very unlikely. — The phr. is very obscure; C seems the least impossible.

撫恤之功于民 64. 收 65. 救 66. 折民惟刑 67. 折 68. 斷 69. 惟 70. 以 71. 哲民維刑 72. 智 73. 哲 74. 制 75. 陶潛 76. 制民 77. 折獄 78. 制獄 79. 制以刑 80. 折則刑 81. 主名山川 82. 主命 83. 命 84. 主 85. 農殖嘉穀 86. 農畝生善穀 87. 農 88. 醴 89. 厚 90. 惟殷于民 91. 維假于民 92. 至 93. 假 94. 格 95. 正 96. 蝦 97. 殷 98. 段 99. 止制百姓于刑之中 100. 百姓 1. 百官 2. 汝作士 3. 爰制百姓于姓之衷 4. 士 5. 爰 6. 典獄弗訖于威惟訖于富 7. 訖 8. 絕 9. 盡 10. 非 11. 富 12. 福 13. 服 14. 罔有擇言在

2044. Wang yu tsê yen tsai shen 14.

Li: Piao ki quotes this, having kung 15 inst. of shen 16.

A. Cheng Hüan (in comm. on Li) paraphrases 17 »There were no such words which had to be chosen applied to their persons», i. e. no reticence was necessary when speaking of them, they were irreproachable. PK'ung follows this. — B. Hia Chuan (Sung time): »They had no chosen words in regard to their persons», they could speak openly of all their doings, having no need to choose their words (no need of reticence); as Legge freely paraphrases it: »They had no occasion to make choice of words in reference to their conduct». — C. The Hiao king (paragr. 4) alludes to our Shu line, saying 18: »What was not lawful they did not speak, what was not the proper way they did not act, their mouths had no tsê words, their (bodies =) persons had no tsê actions». Here it is quite clear that tsê cannot mean 'to choose'; some Han scholars already recognized that the word had a peiorative meaning. Yang Hiung (Fa yen: Wu tsî) alludes to it: 19 »The noble man, his speaking has nothing tsê, his hearing has nothing licentious». Tsê here balances yin 20 'licentious, immoral'. Wang Yin-chî, pointing out all this, therefore proposes that both here in Shu and in Hiao king the char. 21 is a loan char. for 22, such as we have it in Hung fan 23 »by which the proper norms are destroyed». 22 is here read *tâg / tuo / t u, see Gl. 1704. In other words, the original graph in our Shu line has been 24 without radical (Chou fashion) and the transcribing Han scholars have wrongly enlarged it into 21 instead of into 22. T u is also written 25, in Shuowen defined as = 26 'destroy, ruin'. Thus the Hiao king passage means: »Their mouths had no ruinous words, their persons had no ruinous actions», and our Shu line: »There were no ruinous words (in =) coming from their persons». — Wang is evidently right.

2045. Tsî tso yüan ming 27.

A. Cheng Hüan and PK'ung: »For themselves they created great charges». — B. Ch'en King 28 (Sung time): »They (the judges) themselves made the great gift of life», i. e. decided whether an accused person should live or die. (Legge follows this, paraphrasing: »From them was the determination of so great a matter as the lives of men»). — No reason whatever to abandon the ancient interpr.

2046. P'ei hiang tsai hia 29.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 30. Since PK'ung in the spurious chapter Hien yu yi tê, phr. 31 defines hia ng 32 as = 33, it is evident that he meant the same here, p'ei hia ng being = 34, and PK'ung understands: »corresponding (to Heaven's intentions) they were below it (sc. on the earth)». But for hia ng in this sense there are no early text par. — B. »As counterparts (to Heaven), they enjoyed them (sc. the charges) here below». For full documentation of p'ei in this sense see Gl. 825.

2047. Po Yi po hing chî ti 35.

Li: Tsî yi, quoting this line, has a p u 36 before ti, which, however, must be a mere error.

A. PK'ung: ti 37 = 38. More precisely, ti means 'to advance, to proceed' (see Gl. 1337) and hence, as a noun, 'the walk, the conduct', as in Kün Shî 39 »I cannot have a correct (walk =) conduct» (see Gl. 1866). Thus here: »Po Yi's (walk =) conduct in distributing the punishments». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes ti in its common meaning of '(to cause to advance =) 'to lead, to guide': »Po Yi's guiding (the people) by distributing punishments». — C. Legge, who translates: »Spreading among the people his lessons to avert punishments», seems to have referred p o 40 to ti; more literally: »Po Yi's spreading (punishment-guidance =) guidance regarding punishments». — The ancient interpr. (A) is simple and well supported.

Fei ch'a yü yü chî li see Gl. 1907.

2048. Wei shī shu wei to huo tuan chī wu hing 41.

A. PK'ung construes the first six words as a finite clause: «Those many terrorizers snatched (people's) goods, and they decided and applied the five punishments». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en in a curious way inverts the order of *to huo*; he paraphrases: 42 'by bribes (snatch, take away =) suspend the law': «Those many awe-inspiring ones, and those who by bribes suspended (the law), decided . . . ». Even a *huo to* could hardly be explained in that way; still less, of course, our *to huo*. — C. Kiang Sheng: «Those many overawing and (goods-snatching =) bribe-taking ones decided and applied the five punishments».

Shu yu ko ming see Gl. 1489.

2049. Kiner wang pu yu wei yue k'in, er wang huo kie pu k'in 43.

A. PK'ung renders *yu* 44 by *yung* 45 (criticised in Gl. 200) and *wei* 46 'to comfort' by *an* 47 thus: «Now may there be none of you who do not (use the comforting =) feel at ease and say: let us be zealous; may there be none of you who admonish yourselves (and yet) are not zealous». — B. Shīwen records a variant text which has *jī* 48 inst. of *yü* 49 'to say' (they are easily confounded), and Ts'ai Ch'en adopts this, interpreting: «Now may there be none of you who do not *yu wei* for what you make your consolation (use) *jī k'in* the daily zeal; may none of you perchance have to beware of lack of zeal». — C. Kiang Sheng, again reading *yü* 49, repeats PK'ung's *wei* 46 = 47, explaining: «Now there are none of you who do not (follow tranquillity =) take your ease, but you call it zeal; there are none who warn themselves about lack of zeal». — D. Another interpretation: *yu* 44 regularly means 'to follow' in the Shu. The reading *jī* 48 is preferable. The idea of the whole passage is that the king tries to gain the confidence of the dignitaries addressed: «Now, may there be none of you who do not follow (my) (comforting =) encouragements and be daily zealous, may you not perchance (be on your guard =) be mistrusting and not zealous».

2050. T'ien ts'i yü min pei wo yi jī fei chung wei chung tsai jen 50.

A. PK'ung punctuates after *wo*, and his interpretation, as expounded by K'ung Ying-ta, is: «Heaven, in arranging for the people, makes me do it; as to (the actions) during one day, whether (Heaven) does not (go to the end =) keep you on (in office) or it keeps you on, depends on the men». Exceedingly forced. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en punctuates after *jī*; he takes *chung* 51 in the sense of 'a going to the end' = 'persistence' which it had in K'ang kao: «Heaven, in arranging for the people, commands us for one day (i. e. we have but a short spell at our disposal); whether (the culprits) are not persistent or they are persistent depends on the men themselves». — C. Kiang Sheng takes *chung* 51 in the sense of 52 «the achievement of a (naturally) ended life» (for this phrase see Hung fan). Since a scholar Yang Si (Hou Han shu: Yang Si chuan) of the 2nd c. A. D. quotes 53 (the punctuation as in B), with *kia* 54 (Kin-wen version) inst. of *pei* 55, Kiang follows this: «Heaven, in arranging for the people, endows us with one day (i. e. a short spell of life);

身¹⁵躬¹⁶身¹⁷無有可擇之言加於身也¹⁸非法不言非道不行口亡擇言身亡擇行¹⁹君子言也無擇聽也無淫²⁰淫²¹擇²²數²³彝倫攸斁²⁴畢²⁵殫²⁶敗²⁷自作元命²⁸陳經²⁹配享在下³⁰配享天意在於天下³¹克享天心³²享³³當³⁴配當³⁵伯夷播刑之迪³⁶不³⁷迪³⁸道³⁹非克有正迪⁴⁰播⁴¹惟時庶威奮貨斷制五刑⁴²以貨魯法⁴³今爾罔不由慰曰勤爾罔或戒不勤⁴⁴由⁴⁵用⁴⁶慰⁴⁷安⁴⁸日⁴⁹天齊于民俾我一日非終

whether one does not live to a (natural) end or lives to a (natural) end, depends upon the man (himself)». — D. Ma Jung's version inst. of *pei* or *kia* had *k' in* 56 = 57 'to pity': »Heaven, when arranging for the people, pities us with one day (in its compassion gives us a short spell of life)». Wang K'ai-yün understands it differently: »Heaven, in arranging for the people, has pity for (the offence of) one day; whether (the culprit) should not (end =) die or he should die depends on men» (sc. the »directors of criminal cases»). This is certainly no improvement. — The text version in C and D are both of Eastern Han time and thus earlier attested than A. They give a very similar meaning, C being however somewhat more simple and natural and hence preferable.

2051. Suei wei wu wei, suei hui wu hui 58.

A. PK'ung: »Even if one intimidates you, do not be intimidated; even if one considers you fine, do not be fine (in your own eyes)». We could modify this slightly: »Even if one intimidates you, do not be intimidated; even if one (considers you fine =) flatters you, do not (be fine =) be flattered». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en refers the line to the application of the punishments: »Even if (I) am severe (in punishing), do not you be severe, even if I give grace, do not you give grace»; i. e. you need not follow my lead. — C. Kiang Sheng: »Even if (an affair) is to be ceased, do not cease it», thus taking *hui* 59 in the sense of 60 'to rest, to pause, to cease'. This seems already to have been the opinion of the author of an imperial edict of the year 55 B. C., who quotes: *suei hui wu hui*, adding, as an explanation: 61 *ch' sh' pu tai* »attending to the affair without laziness» (Kiang erroneously believes that this line belonged to the original Shu and has been skipped by PK'ung). Wang Yin-chi construes in the same way as Kiang, but believes that *hui* 59 (= 'grace, happiness', common) means *hi* 62 'joyous, enjoy': »Even if (an affair) is frightening, do not be frightened; even if it is joyful, do not be joyed». — As an exhortation to judges A is certainly best: be neither influenced by intimidation nor by flattery.

2052. Chao min lai chi 63.

A. K'ung Ying-ta defines *lai* 63a by *meng* 64 'to receive'. Thus: »The million people will receive it». Cf. Kyü: Lu yü, shang 65 »They will truly forever enjoy and accept it», on which Wei Chao: *lai* 63 = 64; Chuang: Jang wang: »As to riches and honours, if they could avoid them, 66 they absolutely did not receive (accept) them» (comm. *lai* = 67 'to take'). On the other hand, Shuowen defines *lai* by 68 'gain, profit', and it is often defined as = *li* 69 'gain, profit', e. g. Kyü: Tsin yü I, phr. 70 »You receive the profit of it» (common). In fact, 63 **lād / lāi / lai* may be cognate to 69 (**lād / lji / li*) 'profit'. There is really no fundamental difference, only a matter of shade of meaning, between 'receive, accept' and 'to get the advantage of, to gain, to profit'; we could thus express the line more precisely: »The million people will receive the advantage of it». — B. Legge and Couvreur both take *lai* = 'to rely on' (common, e. g. Tso: Siang 14): »The million people will rely on (him)». — A suits the context much better.

2053. Kao er siang hing 71.

A. PK'ung curiously paraphrases: 72 »I will tell you the principles for a good use of the punishments». This would necessitate to take *siang*, in the sense of 'good', as a verb: »I will tell you (how) to make-good the punishments». This is utterly unacceptable. The A version text can only mean: »I will tell you about the auspicious punishments» — the punishments which pertain to an auspicious and successful government. And in the last line of our chapter, where we again have *siang hing*, PK'ung duly renders it by 73 'good punishments'. Yü Yü's guess that *siang* 74 (**dziang*) is a loan char. for 75 (**dziang*), thus *siang hing* = *ch'ang hing* 76 (a phr. occurring in Tso: Chuang 14), is not convincing. — B. Cheng Hün reads *siang hing* 77 and he defines *siang* 78 as = 79 'to scrutinize': »I tell you to scrutinize the punishments». But, of course, *siang* 78 'in detail, detailed' could equally well be an epithet to *hing*: »I will tell

you about the detailed punishments». The *siang* 74 of A and the 78 of B were homophonous (*dzjang) and an earlier text version probably only had 80 without radical (even on Han mirrors, 74 is often wr. 80), and the Han scholars have filled it out into 74 or 78 as they understood the line. The B form 77 already occurs as an allusion to our Shu line in an imperial edict of 60 A. D. On the other hand, Si-ma Ts'ien (Chou pen ki, Mu Wang) has 81 (also in the Sung Po-na ed.). — C. Mo: Shang hien, hia quotes: *ka o ju sung hing* 82. Tuan Yü-ts'ai proposes that *sung* 83 stands for *kung* 84: «I will tell you about the official punishments». Liu Feng-lu proposes that it stands for 85, which would be equal to 86: «liberal punishments». Wang Ming-sheng, on the other hand, believes that *sung* 83 is a corruption of *siang* 78. But obviously we can equally well suppose that *siang* 78 is a corruption of *sung* 83, and that *siang* 74 is a further modification of 78. There is really no reason whatever to tamper with Mo-tsi's reading, the words having their ordinary meaning: «I will tell you about litigations and punishments». — C is by far best in the context. The text goes on to describe the actions of the parties in a litigation.

2054. Ho to fei ki 87.

A. PK'ung: «What shall you estimate, if not (the reach =) how far to go (sc. in the punishments)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «What shall you estimate, if not (the reach =) whom you should reach». — C. Kiang Sheng: «What counsels will you not reach to?». This is excluded since it construes the clause differently from the preceding two which are unambiguous (88 «What shall you carefully attend to if not the punishments»). — D. Mo: Shang hien, hia, quoting 89, expounds this so as to show that he took *ki* 90 to mean «to attain to Yao and Shun», and that he understood: «What should you plan for, if not the attainment» (sc. of the highest standards). Sun Yi-jiang believes that Mo meant: «How could you (estimate =) fear not to attain (the highest standards)», which is excluded for the same reason as C. It may seem difficult to construe the clause acc. to the pattern «what plan for if not the attainment», since Mo has the negation *pu* and not *fei*; but he has the same in the preceding line: *ho king pu hing*, which can only be interpreted as under C above. — E. Si-ma Ts'ien (Chou pen ki) paraphrases: 91. This is because, in Han time, the graphs *to* 92 and *tsê* 93 were interchangeable (see Gl. 1376) and Si-ma thought that 92 here had the sense of 93 'to dwell, to take a dwelling, to take a position'. His paraphrase probably means: «What should you dwell in, if not the proper (place)» (Chavannes translates: «à quoi s'arrêter, sinon ce qui est profitable», which is curious). This means that he understood the Shu line more precisely: «What should you take as position, if not the one attaining (the proper norms)». — F. Yü Yüe: *ki* 90 is a corruption of 94, the original form of *fu* 95. In Yao tien we had 96 «The five punishments have their applications». Here we obtain: «(What should you be careful about, if not the punishments), what should you estimate, if not their applications». This is very ingenious, since *ki* and *fu* were exceedingly similar in the small seal script (97 and 98 respectively). But the Mo-tsi passage would demand that the mistake and corruption of *fu* into *ki*

惟終在人⁵⁷終⁵⁸考終命⁵⁹假我一日⁵⁴假⁵⁵俾⁵⁶矜⁵⁷哀⁵⁸雖畏勿畏雖休勿休⁵⁹休
 60休息 61祇事不息 62喜 63兆民賴之 63a賴 64蒙 65實永鄉而賴之 66則必不賴 67取 68贏
 69利 70君得其賴 71告爾祥刑 72告汝善用刑之道 73善刑 74祥 75常 76常刑 77詳刑 78
 詳 79審察 80羊 81祥刑 82告汝訟刑 83訟 84公 85頌 86容 87何度非及 88何敬非刑 89何
 度不及 90及 91何居非其宜與 92度 93宅 94良 95服 96五刑有服 97及 98民 99兩造具備

had taken place before Mo-tsi, in full Chou time, and then it is more problematic, for in that era the two graphs were not so similar as in the seal script (see Karlgren, *Grammata* pp. 300 and 371, or, more fully, Sun Hai-po, *Ku wen sheng hi*). — It seems safest, therefore, to accept the oldest interpr. attainable (D).

2055. Liang ts'ao kü pei 99.

A. PK'ung (following Cheng Hsuan on Chouli) defines ts'ao 100 as = 1 'to arrive' here 'appear in court' (Shiwen *ts'ôg / ts'âu / ts'ao), and Kung Ying-ta expounds it as a finite verb: «When both (parties) have appeared fully prepared (sc. with testimonies)». Cf. Chouli: Ta sī k'ou: 2 «By the appearance of both (parties), he (tries to) stop the people's litigations». — B. Sü Kuang (comm. on Shi ki: Chou pen ki) records the variant liang ts'ao 3; ts'ao (*ts'ôg) properly means 'to meet' and could, of course, be construed as a finite verb: 'to meet' = 'to put in an appearance', as in A. But it is more likely that it is just a graphical variant of liang ts'ao 4, this 5 (*dz'ôg / dz'âu / ts'ao) meaning precisely 'a pair, two parties', see fully Gl. 903, with text ex. Thus our Shu line: «liang ts'ao the two parties kü pei being fully prepared». — B is very tempting. But after all Sü Kuang is rather late (d. 425 A. D.) and we do not know from what source he has drawn his variant. The Chouli par. is also a strong support for A.

2056. Shi t'ing wu ts'i 6.

A. PK'ung: shi 7 = 8 'all': «All (the judicial officers) listen to the five (kinds of) pleading». — B. Kiang Sheng: shi is equal to the shi shi 9 court assessor of Chouli. Undoubtedly the Chouli author was of this opinion, since he writes that the shi shi, *inter alia*, 10 examines the pleadings in the litigations. The shi shi is not identical with the shi 11 the judge, his superior, and we should not translate «the judges» (with Legge and Chavannes). Thus: «The court assessors (listen to =) deal with the five (kinds of) pleading». Since this is the oldest interpr. accessible (Chouli), it seems safest to adopt it. «The five (kinds of) pleading» would, acc. to PK'ung, be pleadings differently formulated with a view to the 5 punishments, a very scholastic idea. Sun Sing-yen would have wu ts'i to be equal to the wu t'ing 12 «the five listenings» (Chouli: Siao sī k'ou), in which the examiner observes the words, face, breathing, ears and eyes of the pleader in a law-suit. But it is difficult to see how wu ts'i: «the five wordings» could be twisted into meaning this. We shall, of course, never know what the phr. «the five (kinds of) pleadings» really purported.

2057. Wu kuo chi ts'i wei kuan wei fan wei nei wei huo wei lai 13.

A. PK'ung: «The malpractices in the (attribution to) cases of error are due to (comradeship in) office, distortion (of the testimonies), interior (i. e. family) relations, (goods =) bribes, friendship». That kuan 14 alone should mean «comradeship in office», and that lai 15 should stand for wang lai 16 'intercourse, friendship' is certainly excluded. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en has a different list: «The malpractices in (the attribution to) cases of error are (due to) official position, retribution, (interior =) women, (goods =) bribes, solicitation». The last is because Shiwen says that Ma Jung had k'iu 17 (obviously the right reading) instead of PK'ung's lai 15. — B is ingenious. But an ellipsis by which wu kuo chi ts'i «the five errors' defects» would mean: «the (defects =) malpractices in (attributing to) the five cases of error (offenses which are really graver)» is indeed too violent. Moreover, the whole lecture tells the judges how they should judge offenders; so did the preceding line (a falling scale: grave punishments — redemption fines — slighter penalties for cases of error) and so do the following lines (condonement of grave punishments and fines). It is inconceivable that here, parenthetically, a line should discuss offences committed by the judges themselves, only to jump back, the next moment, to the principal topic. Our line here, on the contrary, is an exemplification of the wu_kuo

«five cases of error». F a n 18 is very common in the sense of 'to turn against, to oppose' (e. g. Tso *passim*). The char. 19 is the primary graph for n a (later wr. 20, cf. Meng: T'eng Wen kung, hia 21) 'to present', e. g. Tso: Ai 2, phr. 22 «He presented gifts of friendly inquiry»; Li: Shao yi 23 «to present valuables». H u o 24 'hoarding' is the same as the h u o k ü 25 in Kao Yao mo (Yi Tsi), see Gl. 1316. K 'i u 17 is the same as in Ode 257: «Now this good man f u k 'i u f u t i 26 he does not seek (office), he does not (advance =) push himself forward» (see Gl. 979). Thus our line means: «The shortcomings called the five cases of error are officialism, (opposing =) insubordination, (presenting =) bribery, hoarding and (office-)seeking».

2058. K 'i t s u e i w e i k ü n 27.

All from Sī-ma Ts'ien and Ma Jung this has been taken to mean: «The offence (of leniency) is equal (to the crime connived at)». But there is really nothing in the text to warrant this sophistry. The text simply says: «These offences are (equal =) on a par».

2059. K 'i s h e n k 'o c h i 28.

A. This is PK'ung's Ku-wen version. The k 'o 29 has been variously understood: α. PK'ung: «May you investigate and k 'o manage to deal with it» (sc. so as to stop it). — β. Ts'ai Ch'en: «May you investigate and be able in it (in the investigation)». — γ. Kiang Sheng: «May you investigate and (sustain it =) carry the burden of it». — B. The Kin-wen version reads: k 'i s h e n h o c h i 30 «May you investigate it», s h e n - h o being a very natural and good binome, far better than the A version. Since 29 was *k'ək / k'ək / k 'o and 31 was *g'ək / γək / h o, it is possible that the k 'o 29 of A was simply a loan character for the h o 31 of B.

2060. K i e n f u y u c h u n g w e i m a o y u k i 32.

A. PK'ung: «If you have ascertained and verified and (you have the multitude =) the multitude agrees with you, then (examine) the faces (of the parties) if there is a confirmation». K i 33 'to examine' would then here mean 'to confirm, a confirmation'. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «When the ascertained and verified (points) are many, in the faces (of the parties) there should be an examination». — C. Kiang Sheng carries the first half to the preceding: «(Examine it), and you will have ascertained it and be trusted by your multitude». The second half he takes together with the following w u k i e n p u t 'i n g 34. Shuowen quotes 35. This m i a o 36 means 'fine hair or silk thread'. Kiang believes that by extension it means 'tiny, frail': «If (frailly =) too little there is k i verification, (the guilt) not being ascertained, it is not (listened to =) dealt with (as a crime)». Exceedingly forced. — D. Sun Sing-yen reminds that both in Li: Wang chī and in Chouli: Siao sī k'ou it is said that 37 «the multitude» should agree with the judgement; he therefore takes y u c h u n g as direct object of k i e n f u: «You should k i e n f u (ascertain =) satisfy and make trusting your multitude». Yet k i e n f u must evidently be the same as in an earlier line: to ascertain and verify (the guilt). Hence on this point A is certainly preferable. — E. The oldest version attainable is that of Shuowen; Sī-ma Ts'ien renders the line by w e i s ü n y u k i 38, but this cannot be accepted as an early version, as Sī-ma so often replaced words in the Shu text with such of his own choice. M i a o 36 'hair-fine, silk-fine' is known from no other text. But it is certainly cognate (*m₂og) to

100. 造 1. 至 2. 以兩造禁民訟 3. 兩遭 4. 兩曹 5. 曹 6. 師聽五辭 7. 師 8. 衆 9. 士師 10. 察獄訟之辭 11. 士 12. 五聽 13. 五過之疵惟官惟反惟內惟貨惟來 14. 官 15. 來 16. 往來 17. 求 18. 反 19. 內 20. 納 21. 閉門而不內 22. 納聘 23. 納貨 24. 貨 25. 貨居 26. 弗求弗迪 27. 其罪惟均 28. 其審克之 29. 克 30. 其審核之 31. 核 32. 簡孚有衆惟貌有稽 33. 稽 34. 無簡不聽 35. 惟緇有稽

m a o 39 (*mog) 'hair', which confirms the meaning. »Hair-fine« in the sense of 'minute' is a common metaphor in Chinese (40 »the point of a hair in the autumn«). PK'ung (or his Ku-wen predecessors) have believed that m i a o 36 was a loan char. for m a o 41 and corrected the text accordingly. As we have it revealed by Shuowen: 35, it is simple and easy, and our line means: »You should ascertain and verify and (have the multitude =) act in concert with public opinion; you should (hair-finely =) minutely make investigation«. Si-ma's s ū n is but a paraphrase: »You should scrutinizingly make investigation«.

2061. W u k i e n p u t ' i n g 34.

A. This is PK'ung's version: »If (the guilt) is not ascertained, you should not (listen to =) deal with (the case)«. — B. Si-ma Ts'ien reads: w u k i e n p u y i 42. — Li: Wang chī has the A version. And, as pointed out by Chang Wen-hu, since neither P'ei Yin nor Si-ma Cheng nor Chang Shou-tsie say a word about this text discrepancy, the reading y i 43 is probably a later corruption.

2062. K ' i f a p o h u a n 44.

There is a great confusion in regard to the weight here in question. 45 was *g'wan / ywan / h u a n. This word is unknown in all other early texts, but is very likely (with Tai Chen) identical with the weight 46 *g'wān / yuān / h u a n which occurs in Chouli: Ye shī (*g'wan and *g'wān being two aspects of the same stem). Whereas our h u a n 45 was PK'ung's version, Si-ma Ts'ien's was 47. The char. 48, ordinarily read *sīwat / sīuēt / s h u a i or *līwat / līuēt / l ū e, never has this meaning elsewhere and is obviously a loan char. for the word 49 *līwat / līuāt / l ū e, name of a weight which occurs in Chouli: Ye shī. Since h u a n 45 and l ū e 49 are graphically so similar, it would be tempting to say that either h u a n is a corruption of l ū e or vice versa; but this will not do, since both words, as said above, are attested to have really existed through the Chouli examples. Matters are further complicated by the fact that Han shu: Siao Wang-chī chuan has the reading 50 *sīwan / sīwān / s ū a n. Shang shu ta chuan reads 51, which is evidently a mere variant of 50. This double occurrence forbids our disposing of 50 as a mere »wrong character«; one early version certainly had *sīwan. These triple forms: 45 *g'wan: 49 *līwat (var. 48): 50 *sīwan (var. 51) have so troubled the commentators, that they have tried to simplify matters to some extent. Ying Shao (2nd c. A. D.) proposes that 50 should here not be pronounced *sīwan but »read like 52« i. e. *sīwat (in modern Chinese s h u a), which would at least make its final agree with 49 *līwat; but that is a poor speculation, since the phonetic in the graph (53) forbids it. And Sū Kuang (early 5th c. A. D.), knowing of Ying Shao's speculation about 50, applies his trick also to the 48 of Si-ma's: it should not be read *līwat (nor *līuāt) but »read like 52«, i. e. *sīwat, which is even less convincing; we can easily follow the shrewd scholastic tricks of Ying and Sū and we should immediately reject them. The fact remains that we are left with 3 unreconcilable words: *g'wan, *sīwan, *līwat. The Han scholars boldly declare them to be names for one and the same weight, defined as = 6 ounces (54) by some, as 6 2/3 ounces by others. But even that is very problematic, for in Chouli: Ye shī we have h u a n (*g'wān) 46 side by side, in the same paragraph, with 49 *līwat (an arrow »weighing 3 h u a n« and a dagger-axe »weighing 3 l ū e«), and it is exceedingly unlikely that one and the same weight should go under two different names in the same paragraph; this text, the oldest we have besides our Shu passage, on the contrary suggests that the two weights h u a n (46 *g'wān, 45 *g'wan) and l ū e (49 *līwat, var. 48 *līuāt) were of different magnitude. It is quite obvious that the Han commentators could know nothing sure about the weight in our Shu line, and we must contentiously translate: »The redemption-fine is 100 h u a n (or: l ū e, or: s ū a n) weights (of bronze)«.

Y ū e s h ī k ' i t s u e i see Gl. 1873.

K' i f a p e i : for Si-ma Ts'ien's addition: 55, the last word being probably an erroneous addition, see Chavannes MH I, p. 236.

2063. K' i f a p e i c h ' a 56.

We saw before that the redemption-fine for the 1st punishment (black-branding) was 100 huan, and that for the 2nd punishment (nose-cutting) it was p e i 57 double = 200 huan. Here we have the redemption fine for the 3rd punishment (leg-cutting), which was p e i c h ' a, an obscure phrase; this again is followed by the 4th punishment (castration), redeemed with 600 huan, and the 5th punishment (death-penalty) with 1000 huan. Of the 5 degrees there is thus uncertainty of interpretation only in regard to the 3rd: 1st (100), 2nd (200), 3rd(?), 4th (600), 5th (1000).

A. Ma Jung: p e i c h ' a 58 means »double the preceding, plus one-third», i. e. $2 \times 200 + 133,3 = 533,3$. It is difficult to see why c h ' a should mean »1/3», and moreover a rising scale of this type: 100: 200: 533,3: 600: 1000 is absurd. — B. Kiang Sheng therefore modified: p e i means the original doubling (200) and c h ' a means two-thirds of this: $200 + 133,3 = 333,3$. This is little better, as a scale: 100: 200: 333,3: 600: 1000. And why should c h ' a mean »2/3»? — C. PK'ung: p e i means the doubling of the preceding and c h ' a means: »one-half» of that, thus: $2 \times 200 + 100 = 500$. The scale becomes somewhat better: 100: 200: 500: 600: 1000, but still not very convincing; and why should c h ' a mean »1/2»? — D. Another interpr. P e i means (with B above) the original doubling, i. e. from 100 to 200, and c h ' a 59 has its normal meaning of 'difference': »The redemption-fine is the (same) double plus the difference (between single and double)» i. e. $(200 + 100) = 300$ huan. The scale then becomes reasonable: 100: 200: 300: 600: 1000. The reason why 300 is expressed in this at first sight curious way: »200 plus the difference (between 100 and 200)», is obvious: you emphasize that there is a regularly rising scale: the difference between the 3rd punishment (300 huan) and the 2nd (200 huan) is exactly the same as c h ' a »the difference» between the 2nd (200) and the 1st (100); in short a rising by equal steps: 100: 200: 300. (After this a doubling to 600, and after this again the highest figure, the »complete number» [60], i. e. 1000).

2064. S h a n g h i a p i t s u e i 61.

A. PK'ung takes p i 62 in its sense of 'to compare' (rising tone): »(In undefined cases) upwards (i. e. with graver crimes) and downwards (with lighter crimes) compare the offense». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes p i 62 in the sense of 63 'to adjoin': »(In undefined cases) upwards (i. e. to graver crimes) or downwards (to lighter crimes) adjoin it». — C. Sun Sing-yen reminds of Li: Wang ch' i 64, in which Cheng Huan takes p i 'comparison' as = (cases to be compared with =) 'precedent': »One must examine lighter or graver precedents and thus decide it». Thus here, acc. to Sun: »(In undefined cases), in regard to s h a n g (upper =) graver or h i a (lower =) lighter cases, one should p i by precedent place the offences». — D. In all these interpr. it has been surmised that it is a question of offences which are not expressly stated in the laws, the »undefined» cases. But our Shu text contains nothing to the effect. Our line is a general rule pertaining to all cases: »In (upper =) graver and (lower =) lighter cases you should (with precedents) compare the offences».

2065. W u t s i e n l u a n t s ' i 65.

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 66 »Do not (have =) admit false and disorderly pleadings». — B. Kiang Sheng: »Do not have erroneous and disorderly (pronouncements =) judgements».

36.緇 37.衆 38.惟訊有稽 39.毛 40.秋毫之末 41.貌 42.無簡不疑 43.疑 44.其罰百鎰 45.鎰 46.坑
47.百率 48.率 49.鈔 50.選 51.饒 52.刷 53.要 54.兩 55.其罰倍灑 56.其罰倍差 57.倍 58.倍差 59.差
60.十分 61.上下比罪 62.比 63.附 64.必察小大之比以成之 65.無僭亂辭 66.無聽僭亂之辭

Sun Sing-yen tries to reconcile: «Do not have any erroneous and disorderly (pleading or sentencing) words». — No reason to abandon A.

2066. Wu yung pu hing 67.

A. PK'ung, as further expounded by K'ung Ying-ta, refers the line to the preceding («do not admit false and disorderly pleadings»), do not use them (for your judgement), they cannot be applied». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en, while confessing that he does not understand the line, mentions an interpr: «Do not use what is (not current =) obsolete». Kiang Sheng and Sun Sing-yen have accepted this, and it tallies well with the following line.

Shang hing shi k'ing etc. see Gl. 1286.

2067. Fa ch'eng fei si, jen ki yü ping 68.

A. PK'ung: «The correcting by fines is that one should not die but that the man (in question) should go to the extreme in suffering» (and so be kept from further offence). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «Through the correcting by fines there is no death but people come to the extreme in suffering» (and hence the judgement should be careful). — C. Wang K'ai-yün: ch'eng 69 means 70 'to stop': «Through the fines one stops (people from) fei doing wrong and (hence) si dying». — B is simple and convincing.

2068. Ch'a ts'i yü ch'a fei ts'ung wei ts'ung 71.

A. PK'ung: «Examine the pleadings with regard to their divergences, do not follow (the false pleadings), follow (the true state)». A dreadful construction. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: ch'a 72 'divergence' means self-contradictions in a party's pleading; and fei ts'ung wei ts'ung expresses the great justness: «Examine the pleadings as to self-contradictions; and (even) what you would not (be inclined) to follow, you should follow» (in order to be very impartial). Almost worse than A. — C. «Examine the pleadings with regard to the divergences, (to find) which not to follow and which to follow».

2069. Ming k'i hing shu sü chan 73.

PK'ung simply paraphrases: 74. Since in: «Brightly open the book of the penal laws», ming 'bright' appears to make poor sense, Ts'ai Ch'en takes ming k'i as a binome in the abstract sense of 'to make clear and open up' = to understand: «Clearly understand the book of penal laws». But in fact ming 'brightly' here obviously is taken as opposed to 'obscurely', i. e. = 'openly, visibly', without any concealment; the parties and the public should see the judge refer to the authoritative law codex: «Publicly open the law codex and together look for the answer».

2070. Yü ch'eng er fu shu er fu 75.

A. PK'ung takes the second (but not the first) er 76 as = 'you': «When the litigation is finished and there is (certainty =) sure result, you should transmit your sure result» (sc. to the king). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en has realized this weakness and explains: «When the litigation has got its decision, this will be trusted (by the people); when it is transmitted, it will be trusted (by the king)». — C. Kiang Sheng reverts to A above (and Sun Sing-yen likewise), yet with the modification that he takes the first er 76 as = 77, the second as = «you». — D. Wang Yin-chi: shu 78 stands for yü 79 'to change, to modify'. In Tso: Yin 6, the Ch'un ts'iu text (and also Kung-yang and Ku-liang) has shu p'ing 80, but Tso has 81: «People from Cheng came and (changed, modified =) renewed the peace under different conditions». So our shu (yü) here stands in contrast to the preceding ch'eng, thus: «When the (verdict in) the litigation is definite, it will be trusted, when it is (changed =) modified, it will (likewise) be trusted». Exceedingly far-fetched. — E. Another interpr. K'ung Ying-ta, who accepts A, remarks that in «transmitting» the sure results to the king shu 98 'to transmit' really means 82 'to write'. Now it is true that Kuangya has an entry shu 78 = sie 82, but this, in fact, refers to sie in the sense of 'to vent, to relieve' (Mao comm. on Ode 173 defines 83 by 84). But, none the less, the idea is fecund. By a very natural extension of meaning shu

'transmit' here means 'to commit to writing' (transmit the verdict from oral to written form). Er 76 means 'you' in both places, as in Hung fan 85 »You should make tranquil your mien«, see Gl. 1532, 1536, 1548. Fu 86 of course does not mean 'to trust', said of the people or the king, but has the same meaning as it had earlier in the chapter: 'to verify, verification, certainty'. Thus: »When in a criminal case you have achieved (certainty =) your sure result, then (transmit) commit to writing your (certainty =) sure result«.

2071. K'i hing shang pei, yu ping liang hing 87.

A. PK'ung, following up his idea from the preceding line that it is a question of a report to the king, interprets: »The (report about the) punishment which shang goes up (to the king) pei should be complete, if (somebody) combines two punishments (this should also be reported)«. A comical idea that half of the last passage has to be supplied. And yet it has been accepted by Ts'ai and Legge. — B. Kiang Sheng has a curious idea: »The (report about the) punishment which goes up (to the king) should be complete, if there is (a crime) which (combines two punishments =) is intermediary between two punishments« (it should also be reported, for the decision of the king). Even worse than A. — C. Sun Sing-yen, referring to a Cheng Hsian gloss on Shang shu ta chuan, believes that the last words mean: »One combines two punishments«, i. e. in case of two crimes, one metes out only one punishment for the most serious and leaves the other unpunished. Yu 88 cannot then be construed. But Chang Ping-lin would save the theory by taking yu 88 as = 89 and including the first 4 words in the context: pei 90 *b'ig stands for fu 91 (*b'ük), and 92 = shang fu 93 has the same meaning as earlier in our chapter (»upwards applied«). Thus: »The punishments are upwards applied (for such who) yu ping combine two punishments«, i. e. only the highest is carried out. This would have been more plausible if the sequence had been different and the sentence had run: yu ping liang hing, k'i hing shang (pei =) fu. As it stands, this interpr. will hardly do. — D. Another interpr. The first half belongs to the preceding: »(commit to writing your sure results;) the punishments should be (put up =) recorded and completely indicated; when one has combined (two crimes), he should have two punishments« (they should not be slumped). For shang 94 'to put up' = 'to record', cf. the quite analogous teng 95, e. g. Chouli: Siao si t'u 96 »Each (puts up =) records the population of his district«.

2072. Kuan po tsu sing 97.

A. PK'ung takes kuan-po together: »You chiefs of the officers (i. e. you feudal lords), clansmen (of mine), (men of other) clans«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: kuan »law-court officers and po feudal lords etc.« (as above). — C. Kiang Sheng: Kuan po means the same as the si cheng tien yü 98 »managers of government and directors of criminal cases« earlier in our chapter; and tsu sing is a summing up of the »uncles, brothers and cousins, young sons and young grandsons«, likewise to be found earlier in our chapter. This is a very arbitrary theory. — We have seen earlier that po sing 99 »the hundred clans« means »the gentry« (see Gl. 1212), and we had better, with A, keep close to the text as it stands: »you chiefs of the officers, you clansmen and you gentry«. This is definitely confirmed by an earlier line 100 »Then he trained the gentry (i. e. officials) in the justness of the punishments«, see Gl. 2042.

67勿用不行 68罰懲非死人極于病 69懲 70止 71察辭于差非從惟從 72差 73明啓刑書
胥占 74明開刑書 75獄成而孚輪而孚 76而 77能 78輪 79淪 80輪平 81淪平 82寫 83我心
寫 84輪寫其心也 85而康而色 86孚 87其刑上備有并兩刑 88有 89又 90備 91服 92上
備 93上服 94上 95登 96各登其鄉之衆 97官伯族姓 98司政典獄 99百姓 100爰制百姓于

2073. Chen yén to kü 1.

A. PK'ung: My speech is largely (causing fear =) scaring». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «My speech (has much fear =) is full of apprehension» (foll. by: I am reverently careful about the punishments). The context decides in favour of B.

2074. Yu tê wei hing 2.

A. PK'ung: «The virtuous should (punish =) mete out the punishments». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «With (virtue =) goodness I punish». — C. Kiang Sheng: «The goodness (to the people), is it not in the punishments?». — D. Sun Sing-yen takes wei 3 as the verb: «The virtuous must think of the punishments». — E. Legge: «The end of punishment is to promote virtue»(!). — F. Wang K'ai-yün: hing here does not mean 'punishment' but 'to take as pattern': «The virtuous ones I take as pattern»(!). In A and B, hing is taken as a verb, which is a weakness. D seems to be the least unreasonable interpr.

2075. Kin t'ien siang min 4.

A. Ma Jung: siang 5 = 6 'to aid' (common): «Now, when Heaven would aid the people». — B. PK'ung: siang 5 = 7 'to govern': «Now, when Heaven would govern people». But siang has no such meaning.

2076. Tso p'ei yü hia 8.

A. PK'ung refers this, as usual, to the ruler: «(Now, when Heaven would aid the people), it has created a counterpart for itself here below» (sc. me, I am responsible). — B. Ts'ai Ch'en believes that it refers to the judges: «it makes you its counterparts here below». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr.

2077. Ming ts'ing yü tan ts'i 9.

A. Comm. on Hou Han shu (Kuang-wu pen ki) explains tan ts'i 10 as 'single pleading' in the sense of 11 'one-sided', thus: «You should bring clarity into the (single =) one-sided pleadings (pleadings from one of the parties only)». This has been followed by K'ung Ying-ta and most later writers. — B. Comm. on Hou Han shu: Chu Fou chuan: tan ts'i «(single, simple =) bare pleadings» means 12 having no proof, thus: «unsubstantiated pleadings». Ts'ai Ch'en has tried to combine the two interpr., but they are really quite different, tan 'single' taken either as 'single' as opposed to 'double', or as 'single' = 'simple, unadorned'. A is superior since tan ts'i here stands in contrast to the lian g ts'i «two pleadings» in the next line. — In Lun: Yen Yüan we have an analogous phr.: p'ien yen k'o yi ch'ê yü 13 «From a onesided speech (the speech of one party only) he can decide a criminal case». This was explained by Cheng Hün as: p'ien 14 (*p'ian and *p'wän) = 15 (*pwän) 'half' (cognate words), the idea of «a half speech» not being (with Chu Hi, Legge and Waley) «half a word» but (as in A above) only half of the pleading, the pleading of one (half =) side. Ho Yen, on the other hand, quotes «K'ung» (An-kuo) to the effect that 14 *p'ian is loan char. for 11 *p'ian 'oblique, one-sided', again leading to the A sense.

2078. Min ch'i luan 16.

The comm., ancient and modern, are unanimous in taking lu a n = 17 'to govern' (i. e.: it should really be read s'i 18 = 19, see Gl. 1464): «The governing of the people». There is really nothing against taking luan in its ordinary sense: «In the people's troubles». But we may do best in being conservative and following the tradition, since the first interpr. is fully plausible.

2079. Wu huo s'ia yü yü ch'i liang ts'i 20.

A. PK'ung: «Do not achieve (i. e. enrich) your private house from the two pleading (parties) in criminal cases». Thus he takes kia 21 as a noun with s'i as attribute, and supplies a verb ch'eng 'to achieve' which is not in the text. — B. Sun Sing-yen takes kia 21 as the verb, reminding of a phr. in Li: T'an Kung 22: «The noble man does not (make his householding on =) profit from his mourning». This is obviously right; s'i 23

is an adverb and *kia* the verb of the clause: «Do not perchance privately (make your householding on =) profit from the two pleading (parties) in a criminal case». — C. Chuang Shu-tsu proposes that *kia* 21 is a short-form for 24, which, he says, is defined as = 25 'to sell' in Kao Yu's comm. on Ts'ê. It is difficult to see how the sentence here could then be construed.

Wei fu ku kung 26: Chang Ping-lin and Yü Sing-wu have two interpr. with emendations for nearly every word, which do not deserve being repeated here.

2080. Pao yi shu yu 27.

A. PK'ung: «You will be requited by the crowd's finding you guilty». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: yu 28 = 29: «You will be requited by many misfortunes». But yu 28 (var. 30) means 'fault, crime, guilt', not 'misfortune'. Legge tries to save B by playing on the double meaning of Engl. 'evil': «You will be recompensed with many evils», an unfortunate trick. — C. Kiang Sheng: «You will be requited by much guilt» (sc. and ensuing punishment). — D. Chuang Shu-tsu: «You will requite (your superiors) with many faults».

2081. Fei t'ien pu chung wei jen tsai ming 31.

A. PK'ung: «It is not that Heaven is not just; men in their orders (cause the lack of justness)». This impossible ellipsis has been mended by Kiang Sheng, who places a comma after jen: «It is not that Heaven is unjust; it is the men, in their orders». The idea to take ming as = 32 'commands, orders' is not very plausible. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: «... men themselves take (an unhappy) fate». This, of course, cannot be based on the Shu line. — C. Sun Sing-yen: «... men depend on Heaven's grant (of life)». This making no sense in the context, Sun has to add: therefore, if they disobey Heaven, they ruin themselves (!). — D. Chuang Shu-tsu reads the preceding two words wei fa 35 together with this, punctuating: wei fa fei t'ien, pu chung wei jen, and Liu Feng-lu tries desperately to make some sense out of this: «In punishing, if you do not (obey) Heaven, and if you are not just, then men (are defenseless)». A curious attempt. — E. Another interpr. Ts'ai 34 in the Shu is common in the sense of 35 'to scrutinize, to examine', see Gl. 751. The line means: «It is not that Heaven is not just; it is man who should (scrutinize =) fully understand its decrees».

2082. Kin wang ho kien fei tê yü min chī chung 36.

PK'ung punctuates after kien: kin wang ho kien «Henceforth, what should you scrutinize (sc. for imitation)». Yü Yü would divide differently: kin wang, ho kien fei tê: «Henceforth, what should you scrutinize if not the virtue», on the analogy of an earlier passage in our chapter: ho tsê fei jen, ho king fei hing 37, which at first sight seems tempting. But first, the following yü min chī chung will then make no sense, and, secondly, there is a still more striking par. in our chapter which confirms A: kin er ho kien, fei shī Po Yi 38. This is conclusive. It then remains to interpret fei tê yü min chī chung 39:

A. PK'ung paraphrases: 40 «Is it not to establish (virtue =) goodness towards the people and create justness for it». But the Shu line cannot possibly be construed to mean

刑之中 1.朕言多懼 2.有德惟刑 3.惟 4.今天相民 5.相 6.助 7.治 8.作配于下 9.明清于單辭 10.單辭 11.偏 12.無證據 13.片言可以折獄 14.片 15.半 16.民之亂 17.治 18.嗣 19.司 20.無或私家于獄之兩辭 21.家 22.君子不家於喪 23.私 24.嫁 25.賣 26.惟府辜功 27.報以庶尤 28.尤 29.殃 30.就 31.非天不中 惟人在命 32.教命 33.惟罰 34.在 35.祭 36.今往何監非德于民之中 37.何擇非人何敬非刑 38.今爾何監非時伯夷 39.非德于民之中 40.非當立德於民

this. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: 41 »Is it not those who (achieved) virtue and (perfected) the people's justness», an equally impossible construction. — C. Kiang Sheng: »Is it not this virtue (inherent) in the people's middle position (between Heaven and Earth)». (!) — D. Another interpr. As long as we insist that *ch ung* 42 should mean 'just, justness' here, the line will remain impossible to construe. Thus *ch ung* has its ordinary meaning. On the analogy of the line 38, our line 39 here should refer to persons (with B), not to abstract notions. Thus: »Henceforth, whom should you scrutinize (sc. for imitation)? Is it not the virtuous ones in the midst of the people?». —

2083. *Shang ming t'ing ch'it sai* 43.

A. PK'ung: »May you (brightly =) enlightenedly listen to it». — B. Kiang Sheng: »May you be enlightened in *t'ing* (listening to =) dealing with (the criminal cases)». Sun Sing-yen likewise, but taking *ming* 44 = 45: »May you be energetic...». — No reason to abandon the ancient interpr. (A).

2084. *Chê jen wei hing wu kiang ch'it s'i chu yü wu ki hien chung yu k'ing* 46.

A. PK'ung: »The wise men (used) punishments, and had a limitless fame; they applied (the criminal cases) to the justness of the 5 (constant norms), they all were just and had goodness». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *wu ki* 47 means 48 the five punishments: »The wise men ... fame; all that *chu* had to do with *wu ki* the five punishments was just, and so they were praised». But *ki* has no such meaning. — C. Sun Sing-yen: »The wise men, in the innumerable pleadings, they (made the cases) (attach to =) agree with (the 5 justnesses =) the just 5 punishments; when they all were just, there was happiness». — D. Wang Yin-chi: our *chê jen wei hing* 49 is the same as the *chê min wei hing* 50, which really means 51 »For restraining the people there were the (punishments =) penal laws», see Gl. 2038. This is obviously right. *Ki* 51 is well attested in the sense of 52 'the middle way, the proper mean, the correct norm', see Gl. 182, 1524. Thus: »For restraining the people there are the (punishments =) penal laws. The innumerable (pleadings =) legal cases should be applied to the five proper norms (i. e. the norms for the five punishments), and when all is just, there will be happiness». —

Kien yü ts'isiang hing see Gl. 2053.

Wen Hou chi ming.

2085. *Wang jo yüe fu yi ho* 53.

As to *wang jo yüe*, which Ma Jung paraphrases 54 »The king (compliantly =) amiably said», it is frequent in the Shu, simply meaning: »The king spoke thus».

A. Ma Jung: *fu yi ho* is a finite clause, meaning: »You, my (father =) uncle, by righteousness can unite (the feudal lords)». Since *fu yi ho* recurs several times in our chapter as an obvious vocative, we have to modify this into: »Oh (father =) uncle and peacemaker». The ceremony took place, says Si-ma Ts'ien, when prince Wen had brought Ch'u into loyal allegiance to the king and presented the booty. — B. Cheng Huan: since prince Wen 55 of Tsin had the personal name K'iu 56 (see Tso: Huan 2), his appellation could be Yi 57 (a translation of K'iu: »vis-à-vis»), and Yi 58 could be a short-form for 57. Cheng says nothing of *ho* 59 (Kiang Sheng comically explains it as 60 »a phonetic super-fetation» (57 *yi* = **ngia*: *yi-ho* = **ngia-g'wá*), but PK'ung logically followed up Cheng's idea, declaring Yi-Ho to be a binominal appellation: »Oh, uncle Yi Ho». There is not the slightest support for all this name speculation.

2056. *K'o shen ming tê* 61.

A. PK'ung: »They could be careful to (make bright =) promote the virtuous». Cf. Gl. 1210. — B. Sie Chao-ming: »They could be careful about the bright virtue» (foll. by

Chavannes, MH. 4, p. 303). — C. Kiang Sheng: 'They could be careful to make bright the virtue'. Besides the par. in Yao tien (see Gl. 1210) there is K'ang kao 62 'Your greatly illustrious father Wen Wang could make bright the virtue and be careful about the punishments'. Here ming must be a transitive verb, and the par. is conclusive.

2086. Chao shi kue pi 63.

A. PK'ung: 'They brightly served their sovereign'. — B. Sun Sing-yen: chao 64 (*i₂og) is loan char. for chao 65 (*i₂og), which in Erya is defined as = 66, thus: 'They energetically served'. But of this Erya meaning these are no text ex., and the loan speculation is arbitrary and unnecessary; many Ts'ing scholars proposed things like this in order to diverge, at any price, from the orthodox interpr.

2087. Si sien tsu huai tsai wei 67.

A. PK'ung paraphrases huai tsai wei by 68 'returned to being on the throne'; this makes poor sense, unless it means: 'My ancestors one after the other came on the throne'. But huai = kuei, though an Erya gloss, is not confirmed, see Gl. 110 a. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en renders huai by 69: 'My ancestors were tranquil on the throne'. This is based on a gloss by Cheng Hsian on Ode 68, phr. 70, where he says huai = an 69. This, however, makes no sense and that line obviously means: 'I yearn, I yearn'. Thus there is no support whatever for B. — C. Another interpr. Huai fundamentally means 'to carry in the bosom, to cherish, to love', e. g. Ode 3, phr. 71 'I am sighing for my (cherished =) beloved one'; Ode 76 phr. 72 'You Chung are worth loving', etc. (very common). Thus here: 'And so my ancestors were beloved on the throne'.

Min yü siao tsī sī tsao t'ien p'ei k'ien see Gl. 1589.

2088. T'ien tsī tsē yü hia min 73.

A. PK'ung takes t'ien 'Heaven' as subject. 'It (sc. Heaven) has cut off the tsī resources for tsē bounties to the lower people'. Sun Sing-yen combines tsī-tsē as a binome, paraphrasing it by 74: 'It has cut off the bounties to the lower people'. — B. In accordance with our interpr. of the preceding line, the subject must be 'I': 'I have destroyed the resources and bounties for the lower people'.

2089. Ts'in jung wo kuo ch'un (chun) 75.

A. 'PK'ung: 'Invading (weapons =) soldiers (harm) our state and great families, and (the harm) is great'. The principal verb of the clause would thus be missing and have to be supplied, which of course is impossible. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en takes jung as the western barbarians, but commits the same fault as A: 'The invading Jung are (a harm) to our state (that is) great'. Moreover, when we know from historical sources that the invaders were Ti 76, there is no reason why they should here be called Jung. — C. Sun Sing-yen: 77 (*d₁uən / i₂uən / ch' u n) stands for 78 in the reading *d₁uən / i₂uən / ch' u n 'difficult, difficulty' (in other words: an original 78 has been erroneously enlarged into 77). Cf. Yi: Kua 3, phr. 79 'Difficult and hampered' (in its going); Chuang: Wai wu 80 'They

為之中正乎 41 非成德而能全民所受之中者 42 中 43 尚明聽之哉 44 明 45 勉 46 哲人惟
刑無疆之辭屬於五極咸中有慶 47 五極 48 五刑 49 哲人惟刑 50 折民惟刑 51 制民惟刑
51 極 52 中 53 王若曰父義和 54 王順曰 55 文 56 仇 57 儀 58 義 59 和 60 語餘聲 61 (丕顯文武)
可慎明德 62 乃丕顯考文王克明德慎罰 63 昭事厥辟 64 昭 65 釗 66 勉 67 肆先祖懷在位
68 歸在位 69 安 70 懷哉懷哉 71 嗟我懷人 72 仲可懷也 73 矜貧澤于下民 74 財祿 75 便戎
我國家純 76 狄 77 純 78 屯 79 屯如遭屯 80 沈屯 81 屯窮 82 侵戎 83 戎侵 84 惟 85 于 86 戎戰

are plunged in difficulties»; Sün: Chung Ni 81 »in difficulties and distress». Sun says that ts'in jung 82 is equal to jung ts'in 83: »(Weapons =) armies invade (so that) our state is in difficulties». But such an inversion is impossible. We should have to construe: »Invading (weapons =) armies are (our state's difficulty =) distress to our state». This is worth considering, but it would be more convincing if there were a copula wei: ts'in jung wei 84 wo kuo kia chun. — D. Chang Ping-lin: the char. 77 need not be altered; read **iwən / tsüən / chun* it is exceedingly common in the sense of 'border' of a mat or a garment; so we already had it in Ku ming above. Here it refers to the frontier. This is strikingly plausible. It would then be tempting to take the last words as an adverbial phrase: »Invading (weapons =) armies (are) (in) our state's border». In fact a locative without an expressed yü 85 is common in Shī and Shu. But then the verb should not be missing at the same time (a phr. like 86 »Armies fight (on) the border» would be all right). We must therefore take ts'in and jung as two coördinated verbs: »One invades and attacks our state's border». For jung as a verb: »to treat with weapons, to attack» cf. Shu: T'ai shī ap. Kyü hia: jung Shang pi k'o 87 »If you attack Shang you will certainly vanquish it.» This par. is conclusive.

2090. Tsi wo yü shī wang huo k'i shou tsün tsai küe fu 88.

Tsi 89 is expl. by Kiang Sheng as = 90, by Sun Sing-yen as = 91: »Now, our managers of affairs». But in fact it is the concessive »even (if it is)», like Mandarin tsiu shī 92: »Even among our managers of affairs . . .» A. PK'ung's version (Ku-wen) is as above: »Even among my managers of affairs, there are none who perchance are aged and eminent in their (work =) offices». K'i-shou would thus be a binome, followed by the single tsün, which is rhythmically bad. Sun Yi-jang tries to amend this by dividing differently: wang huo k'i shou, tsün tsai küe fu: »There are none who are aged, and (who are) eminent in their offices». This is certainly better, but it is still strained to let the same wang 93 govern first k'i-shou and then tsün, the line equalling: wang k'i shou, wang tsün tsai küe fu. — B. The Kin-wen version, as quoted in an edict of 20 B. C. (Han shu: Ch'eng ti pen ki), reads: Tsi wo yü shī wang k'o k'i shou kiu tsai küe kung 94. Since the commentator Wen Ying (2nd c. A. D.) paraphrases: 94, Tuan Yü-ts'ai believes that the Kin-wen as well had a tsün 95 (paraphr. by 96) after shou, but that is hardly likely; in fact the superiority of the Kin-wen is precisely that it has a better rhythm, thanks to its lack of tsün; Wen may have known of the competing Ku-wen and formulated reconcilingly. Wen explains his line: »Among the managers of affairs I have not been able (to have) aged (and experienced) ones; the fault (of our disasters) is on their persons». Yen Shī-ku better refers the last words to the king himself. And since wang k'o k'i shou cannot possibly mean »I have not been able to have aged ones», we have to interpret differently: »Even among our managers of affairs, none have been capable of becoming (aged =) veterans, and the fault is (on my body =) mine». — The B text is much earlier attested than the A text, and it suits the context even better than A, being a continuation of the king's self-reproaches.

2091. Wei tsu wei fu 97.

A. PK'ung: »My grand-uncles and uncles», addressing the feudal lords. — B. Sun Sing-yen: »My grand-father and father (in Heaven)». — B would seem to be most simple and natural; but the whole chapter is an appeal by the king to a powerful feudal lord to support him, not to his dead ancestors.

2092. K'i yi sü chen kung 98.

A. PK'ung renders yi 99 by wei 100, thus taking it to be an empty particle, as very often in the Odes. »May you anxiously think of my person». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en paraphrases: 1 »Who can anxiously think about me». It may seem strange that Ts'ai renders yi 99 by shu ei 'who'; but he has probably had in mind Ode 192, phr. 2 »whom does he hate?»,

Ode 199, phr. 3 »Who are following him», and so he has imagined that *y i* here stood as abbreviation for *y i shuei*.

2093. *Y u t s i y ü y i j e n y u n g s u e i t s a i w e i 4*.

A. PK'ung: »If you have achievements, I, the One Man, will forever be tranquil in my high position». *T s i 5* = 'achievement, merit' is common, as in Yao tien 6 »the achievements will all be resplendent». — B. Si-ma Ts'ien (Tsin shī kia) paraphrases: 7 *k i* »Continue me, the One Man, (so that) forever I shall be in the high position». This is because Erya says that *t s i 5* = 8 'to continue'. But this sense is a rare extension of meaning, see the full discussion in Gl. 861; and moreover Si-ma has simply ignored the *y u 9* of the Shu line. Sun Sing-yen has tried to amend this, still taking *t s i* = 'to continue', by another interpr. applicable both to Shu and Si-ma's line: »(If) there is a continuance, I, the One Man, will forever be tranquil in the high position». This, however, is rather strained.

2094. *J u k ' o s h a o n a i h i e n t s u 10*.

Of the Shī san king chu su, some editions have *s h a o 11* as above: »You are able to continue after your illustrious ancestors». Other editions have *c h a o 12*: »You are able to make bright your illustrious ancestors». Since PK'ung paraphrases it by *m i n g 13*, it is evident that his text had *12*, and Yüan Yüan concludes that *s h a o 11* is erroneous. But on the contrary it is the better reading. The original graph has probably been simply *14* without radical (Chou fashion), and the early Han scribes have filled it out into *s h a o 11* or *c h a o 12* as they understood the line. *S h a o*, however, has the support of many analogous texts, the theme of a prince or dignitary »continuing after his ancestors» being ubiquitous. We have, in bronze inscription, Hu Ting (Grammata inscr. 132) phr. 15 »I charge you to succeed to your ancestors»; Po Ch'en Ting (Grammata inscr. 159) phr. 16 »Continue after your ancestors»; Ode 260, phr. 17 »Continue after your ancestors»; Tso: Siang 14, phr. 18 »Continue after your ancestors». In all these cases the words are spoken in a royal »charge» of just the same kind as our chapter here.

J u c h a o h i n g W e n W u see Gl. 1042.

2095. *Y u n g h u e i s h a o n a i p i 19*.

A. PK'ung: »Thereby you shall collect and cause-to-continue (the goodness of) your sovereign». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »You have harmonized and caused-to-continue (the principles of) your sovereigns». — C. Kiang Sheng thinks that *h u e i 20* means 21 »to unite the feudal lords» and Legge goes further and says that *h u e i* refers to the armies of the lords coming to save the fugitive king: »You have collected (the scattered powers) and continued (the all-but-broken line of) your sovereign». — D. Another interpr. For *s h a o* see Gl. 1730: »(You should diligently imitate Wen and Wu) and thus join in and continue (the work of) your sovereign».

2096. *J u t o s i u h a n w o y ü k i e n 22*.

A. Chouli: Si hün has a curious enumeration of terms for »merit»: *h ü n 23* (for 24), *k u n g 25* (for 26), *y u n g 27* (for 28), *l a o 29* (for 30), *l i 31* (for 32) and *t o 31*,

我國家純⁸⁷戎商必克⁸⁸即我御事罔或蕃壽俊在厥服⁸⁹即⁹⁰今⁹¹就今⁹²就是⁹³罔克蕃壽⁹⁴在厥躬⁹⁵無能有耆老賢者⁹⁶俊⁹⁷賢⁹⁸惟祖惟父⁹⁹其伊恤朕躬⁹⁹伊¹⁰⁰惟¹⁰¹其誰能恤我乎¹⁰²伊誰云惜¹⁰³伊誰云從¹⁰⁴有績予一人永綏在位¹⁰⁵績¹⁰⁶庶績咸熙¹⁰⁷繼予一人永其在位¹⁰⁸繼¹⁰⁹有¹¹⁰汝克紹乃先祖¹¹¹紹¹¹²昭¹¹³明¹¹⁴召¹¹⁵命汝更乃祖考¹¹⁶嗣¹¹⁷乃祖考¹¹⁸續¹¹⁹乃祖考¹²⁰纂¹²¹乃祖考¹²²用會紹乃辟¹²³會¹²⁴會諸侯¹²⁵汝多修扞

this last being the term for 34 »merits in war«. The comm. have discussed how t o 33 »much« came to mean this, some propounding that it meant »great amount of prisoners«(!). PK'ung, seizing upon this, interprets: »Your t o warlike merits siu have been fine«. Kiang Sheng prefers to take siu 35 as = 36 'long': »Your warlike merits have been prolonged«. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »You have much repaired (sc. of our losses), and you have defended me in my difficulties«. — C. Sun Yi-jang punctuates after t o, and takes siu 35 as standing for yu 37: ju t o, yu han wo yü kien, whatever that may mean. — D. Chang Ping-lin: siu = 'long' is coördinated with t o: »You have largely and (lengthily =) widely defended me«. — E. Yü Sing-wu: siu (*s*i*óg) »had the same sound« as h iu 38 (**xi*óg), and means 39 'fine': »You are grandly fine, you have defended me«. — F. Another interpr. It is difficult to see why t o and siu should not have their ordinary meanings. T o 40 is common meaning 'on many occasions, often, constantly', e. g. Tso: Wen 15, phr. 41 »He (much, largely =) often does undecorous things»; Meng: Kung-sun Ch'ou, hia 42 »Your missing your place in the ranks has been on many occasions«, etc. (very common). Siu 35 'to cultivate' means 'to devote oneself to, attend to, do one's best about', as in Tso: Siang phr. 43 »He attended to the business of the people»; Tso: Chao 13, phr. 44 »They did not attend to the defenses»; Tso: Chao 26, phr. 45 »Able well to attend to his office«. Thus here: »You have (largely =) on many occasions well attended to defending me in my difficulties«.

Jou yüan neng er see Gl. 917.

Pi shi.

2097. Ts'u tsi 46.

A. PK'ung carries this to the following: ts'u tsi Huai Yi Sü Jung ping hing 47. »We march against these Yi of the Huai (River region) and the Jung of Sü (who) all together have risen«. Ping hing is then an enclitic relative clause, a common feature, e. g. Shu: Ts'i ts'ai 48 »and thus gladden the former kings who received the mandate« (see Gl. 1714). — B. Sun Sing-yen carries it to the preceding: t'ing ming ts'u tsi 49 »For listening to my order come here«. This would be more convincing if the text had been ts'u tsi t'ing ming »come here and listen to my command«. As it stands, B is not convincing. — C. Yü Sing-wu: ts'u 50 stands for 51, which is a mere initial particle in the Siao ch'en lai Kuei 52 inscr., phr. 53, which is very analogous to our phr. here. We should therefore not translate ts'u 50. This is certainly ingenious and tempting, but the supporting material is hardly sufficient.

2098. Shan liao nai kia chou 54.

Shiwen reads 55, which is a *hapax legomenon* in the texts, with the sound *liog / lieu / liao. Tuan Yü-ts'ai doubts this, but on insufficient grounds.

A. Sī-ma Ts'ien (Lu shī kia) paraphrases liao by 56: »Display well your buffcoats and helmets«. No support. — B. Cheng Hsün: liao means 57 'to perforate': »Stitch well your buffcoats and helmets«. No support. — C. Shuowen, quoting our line, says that liao = 58: »Select well your buffcoats and helmets«. Chu Tsün-sheng proposes that 55 is loan char. for 59; we should better say that it is a variant of liao 59, the element 'rice' forming part in both. Liao 59 properly means 'to measure', by extension 'to estimate, try, select'. In the bronze inscriptions on the Ch'en Fang Kuei (Grammata, inscr. 287) there is a line 60 »selected auspicious bronze»; in the first character we again have mi 'rice' and Wu Shī-fen (Kün ku lu kin wen) already correctly identified it as another variant of our liao 55 'to select', this being conclusively confirmed by its forming the binome liao-tsê 'to select'. C is thus well supported.

Wu kan pu tiao »Do not dare not to be good«. For tiao = good' (not = 'to

come') see Gl. 429. But *tia o* 'good' is good in the moral sense, so that the line does not refer to the weapons (»Do not dare to [cause them to be] not good»), as has generally been admitted.

Tuan nai kuo mao see Gl. 907.

2099. *Kin wei yin shê ku niu ma* 61.

A. Cheng Hsün takes *ku* 62 as a variant for *ku* 63 'manacles' (both **kók*): »Now they will largely let loose hobbled oxen and horses». This is quite plausible, since the Chou-time graph probably was only 64 (without radical), filled out into 62 by the Han-time transcribers. — B. Shuowen (foll. by PK'ung), quoting our line, says that *ku* 62 means 65 'stable, pen', a word attested in Yi: *Kua* 26 (the present Shuowen text in Sū K'ie's version quotes 66 and in Sū Hsün's version 67; with Shuowen's definition 'stable' of *ku*, the last makes no sense here [»Now they will stable the oxen'], and the absence of *sh ê* 68 and of *yin shê* 69 respectively is obviously a corruption). Thus: »Now they will largely let loose the oxen and horses of the stables». — It might seem obvious that B is preferable since *ku* 62 'stable' is attested in Yi. But in the next line we have: *wu kan shang ku* 70. With the B interpr., we have here to assume a violent ellipsis: »Do not dare to hurt the (animals from the) stables», which is certainly poor. No such difficulty pertains to A: »Do not dare to damage the hobbled ones». This decides in favour of A.

2100. *Wo shang lai ju* 71.

A. PK'ung: »I will *shang* estimate (the merit) and reward you». — B. Sū Miao: *shang* 72 (**śiang*) is loan char. for *chang* 73 (**iāng*): »I will distinguish you and reward you». An arbitrary speculation. — C. Yü Sing-wu: *shang* 72 here means 'to give, to endow', as shown by the combination with *lai*. For further corroboration see Gl. 1873. *Shang-lai* is a binome of synonyms: »I will reward you».

2101. *Ju tsê yu wu yü hing fei sha* 74.

A. PK'ung: *wu yü hing* »the punishments without remainder» means all the various kinds of punishments that exist; thus: »You will have (one or other of) all the various punishments, short of death». — B. Cheng Hsün: »You will have the punishment of having no (remaining ones =) descendants (i. e. being deprived of your wife and children) but you will not be killed». — C. Wang Su: »You will have the (no exemption-punishment =) punishment comprising your whole family, but you will not be killed». — D. Yü Yü: »You will have (the punishment without remainder =) all the punishments combined, except the death penalty»; in other words, you will be branded, lose nose and feet and be castrated. — E. Sun Yi-jang: *yü* 75 was originally wr. 76, without radical (Chou fashion; cf. Chouli: Wei jen 77 »the remaining collectings», where 76 stands for 75), and here this 76 is merely a graphical variant for *sh ê* 78 (cf. that in the Wei stone classics *yü* 76 'I' is wr. 79). *Wu shê hing* 80 »punishment without pardoning» are

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such as do not follow the praxis described in Chouli: Si yüan of a condonement after three, two or one years. Thus: *'You will have the punishments not liable of condonement, but you will not be killed.'* This seems to be the least improbable solution.

Ts'in shi.

2102. Min ki ts'i jo shi to p'an 81.

A. PK'ung: «When the people ki exhaustively ts'i jo follows the compliant (principles), then there is much joy». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «People ki (exhaustively =) all ts'i by nature jo shi are like this, that they to p'an largely are contented (with themselves)». — C. Another interpr. Ki 82 = 83 'to stop' (the ordinary meaning), here as an adverb: 'stoppingly' = 'only'; ts'i jo 'to follow oneself', to do as it pleases oneself, a common meaning: «People only (follow themselves =) follow their own wishes, and that is their great joy». Cf. Ts'é: Ts'in ts'é: «Tseng Shen's mother 84 still continued to weave and was complacent». For p'an 85 = 'joy' see Gl. 160. — G. Yü Yü: p'an 85 stands for p'an 86 which in Shuowen is defined as = pi 87. Now pi 87 can mean 'perversity', and that is also the meaning of p'an here: «People (exhaustively =) all follow (themselves =) their own wishes and then there are many perversities». P'an in Shuowen is defined by pi 87 'to deflect, deflection' because in the phr. p'an sü an 88 it means 'to turn round'. But that a 'turning-round' by extension of meaning should mean 'a deflection, perversity' is far-fetched. — B is simple and plausible.

2103. Wei shou tsê pei ju liu 89.

A. PK'ung: «To receive reproof and (amend and) make it (natural) like water flowing (downwards)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: «To receive reproof and (cause =) allow it to be like a (free) flow».

2104. J'i yüe yü mai jo fu yün lai 90.

Yün 91 was introduced by Wei Pao in T'ang time instead of an earlier yün 92, as shown by Tuan Yü-ts'ai. It might seem to be a testimony to the contrary when Fu Yi 93 (1st c. A. D.) paraphrases (Hou Han shu: Fu Yi chuan) the line: k'i yün sü an fu 94, but his yün 91 does not correspond to that of the Shu but the yün of the latter is represented by Fu's sü an 95, see B below.

A. PK'ung and Ts'ai Ch'en both take yün as an empty particle (91 and 92 being interchangeable in this function), which is common. Thus «(My heart's sorrow is that) days and months pass on, as if they would not come»; since this makes poor sense they have to improve: «as if they would not come again», though there is nothing corresponding to their supplied 'again' in the text. — B. Kiang Sheng: the char. 92 means 95 'to turn round', and the line is equal to 96. Thus: «The days and months pass on, it is as if they would not (return =) recur» (i. e. my life draws to an end). The char. 92 should then be read yü an, and it is well attested in the sense of 'round, circle, to encircle', see Gl. 1187. That a yü an lai 97 'go round and come' could mean 'to return' is quite natural, just as well as a sü an lai 98. Cf. also that huei of huei lai 99 'to return' fundamentally means 'to revolve, make a round'. That Fu Yi in middle-Han time already understood the line so is revealed by his rendering: sü an fu 100 for the yü an lai 97 of the Shu.

2105. Ku chi mou jen.... kin chi mou jen I.

A. PK'ung: «The counsellors with ancient principles.... the counsellors (intent upon) present (affairs)». Kiang Sheng has a similar scholastic paraphrase: «The counsellors (knowing) ancient (things).... the counsellors (intent on) present (advantage)». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en renders ku chi mou jen by 2 «old and perfected» men i. e. experienced worthies. He seems to find the idea of 'aged' in ku 3 'ancient'. — C. Sun Sing-yen: ku means 'anciently, formerly', thus: «My former counsellors.... my present counsellors».

2106. Tsê yüe wei tsiu yü ki.... ku tsiang yi wei ts'in 4.

A. PK'ung (with the modification stated in Gl. 2105): »(as to my former counsellors), I (said =) considered that they did not achieve my (wishes) but hated (me); (my present counsellors), I at first accepted them and believed that they loved me». — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »(My former counsellors), I (said =) considered that they did not accommodate themselves to me, and I hated them; (my present counsellors), I at first accepted them and I considered them as intimate friends». — C. Shuowen, under a word ki 5 (homophonous with 6, both *g'iæg), defined as = 7, quotes our line as: lai tsiu ki ki 8. Now it is evident that since tu 7 can mean both 'poison' and 'to hate', and since ki 6 means 'to hate', it is the latter sense which Hū had in view, and 5 is merely a graphical variant for 6. (Therefore Tso: Ting 4, phr. 9 does not mean, with Legge: »he poisonously dismembered the royal house» but »he caused hatred and dissention in the royal house»). It is further clear that his lai 10 can easily be a corruption of the similar wei 11. The presence or absence of y ü 12 makes little difference. Thus even with Shuowen's citation, after correction of lai into wei, we could obtain practically the same sense as with the A text. But Kiang Sheng thinks differently; he retains the lai and takes tu of the definition as = 'poison': »(As to my former counsellors) I (said =) considered that they came and were (poisonous =) noisome; (my present counsellors), I at first accepted them and thought that they loved me». — D. Chuang Shu-tsu likewise follows Shuowen, considering wei 11 of A as a corruption of lai 10 and ki 6 as a loan char. for ki 5. In a phr. in Tso: Sūan 12, Tu Yü defines this latter char. as meaning 13 'to instruct', and Chuang seizes upon this: »(My former counsellors) should have come and acceded to my instructions» (the doubling of ki in Shuowen being a fault). Wang Sien-k'ien goes a middle way between A and B: wei tsiu yü ki 14 »they did not accommodate themselves to my instructions». But, as Tuan Yü-ts'ai has already pointed out, when ki 5 means 13, it is really in the sense of »to warn, to caution» (so particularly in the Tso ex. above), being indeed a variant for 15 (*g'iæg) which means 16 'to warn'. This fact makes both Chuang's and Wang's interpr. unlikely. — E. Wang Yin-chi, likewise combining the A and B texts: 14, says that since in Kuangya: Shī-ku 5 is defined as = 17 or 18, the line should mean: »they did not accede to my (mind =) will». But for this meaning of ki there is no text support. — F. Yü Yüe tried another solution. Kuang yün says that »one meaning» of 5 was 19 'to plan', and this would be the meaning here: »They did not accede to my plans». But for this meaning of ki there is again no text support. That Erya says 20 = 19 is no help, for ki here really means 'to lay the foundations', i. e. plan out an undertaking, and that is not applicable here. — G. Sun Yi-jang: the last word, whether wr. 5 or 6, is simply an empty final particle. Cf. Ode 78, phr. 21 »Shu is a good shot». Since the series ki 22 and ki 23 interchange in many cases (the common Ode phr. 24 occurs varied as 25 and as 26), and since 6 and 5 are interchangeable when meaning 'to hate', it is but natural that 5 could serve as variant for 6 as a final particle. Sun then interprets the first line thus: »The (good) counsellors of antiquity have not approached me». But this

舍刑 81. 民說自若是多盤 82. 說 83. 止 84. 尚織自若 85. 盤 86. 般 87. 辟 88. 般旋 89. 惟受責俾如
流 90. 日月逾邁若弗云來 91. 云 92. 員 93. 傳毅 94. 日月逾邁堂云旋復 95. 旋 96. 若弗旋來 97.
員來 98. 旋來 99. 回來 100. 旋復 1. 古之謀人... 今之謀人 2. 老成人 3. 古 4. 則曰未就于忌
... 姑將以為親 5. 甚 6. 忌 7. 毒 8. 來就甚甚 9. 甚間王室 10. 來 11. 未 12. 于 13. 教 14. 未就于
甚 15. 記 16. 誠 17. 意 18. 志 19. 謀 20. 基 21. 叔善射忌 22. 己 23. 其 24. 彼其之子 25. 彼己之子 26. 彼

does not properly bring out the antithesis to the second line. We had better preserve the fundamental idea of B that *tsiu* 27 means 'to accommodate oneself to' (see Gl. 1286), but avail ourselves of Sun's clever explanation of the enigmatic *ki*: «As to my former counsellors I (said =) considered that they did not accommodate themselves to me; (my present counsellors), at first I accepted them and considered them affectionate». The final particle *ki* 5 need not cause us misgivings; we have another (cognate) interrogative final particle *ki* 23 in Shu: Wei *tsi* 28. — H. Wang K'ai-yün: «(My former counsellors), could not achieve my hatred (against the enemy); (my present counsellors), I for the time being *tsiang* make them generals and consider them as near friends». A very eccentric interpr.

2107. *Po po liang shi* 29.

A. PK'ung: *po* 30 = 'martial': «Those martial good officers». *Po* has that meaning in Ode 259 (then read **puâr* / *puâ* / *p o*) but it does not suit the context here. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: *po po* = 'old-looking'. Indeed Si-ma Ts'ien in a free paraphrase of this passage: 31 «The ancient men consulted with those with (yellow =) faded hair *po - po*», taking *huang - fa po - po* as a 4-word group. This shows (with Kiang Sheng) that 30 is a short-form for 32 (**b'wâr* / *b'uâ* / *p o*) 'white' (text ex. of this word in Yi), thus: «Those white(-haired) good officers». The whole context conclusively confirms this.

2108. *Yi yi yung fu* 33.

A. This is PK'ung's version, well confirmed by quotations in Han-shu: Li Sün chuan and in Shuowen: The vigorous brave men». The meaning 'strong, vigorous' is well attested, see Gl. 848. — B. Ma Jung reads 34, defining 35 as = 36. Kiang Sheng and others say that this is «a different character and a different meaning», which ought to be rejected. But the difference is in fact imaginary. 35 is a loan char. for 36 (rather: the original text had simply 37 without radical, Chou fashion, and some Han scholars filled it out wrongly into 35 inst. of 36) and Ma's curious definition means: «the appearance of discerning and (registering =) observing nothing», i. e. 'foolhardy, stupidly brave', which comes near to A; the idea is in either case officers who are brave and vigorous but not very intelligent and hence no good counsellors.

2109. *Wei tsie tsie shan pien yen* 38.

A. This is PK'ung's version (Ku-wen). We shall revert to it below. — B. Kung-yang: Wen 12 reads *wei tsien tsien shan tsing yen* 39, and since this is by far the earliest version attested it should be followed. It was widely known in Han time (the phr. *tsien tsien* 40 used as an allusion in Han shu: Li Sün chuan, Yen t'ie lun: Kuo ping, Ts'ien fu lun: Kiu pien, Wang Yi comm. on Ch'u; Shuowen has the short-form 41). Ho Hiu (comm. on Kung-yang) defines *tsien* 42 as = 'shallow'. In Kyü: Yüe yü, hia it is spoken of 43 «those insincere ones», and possibly this is already an allusion to Shu; there Wei Chao and Kia K'uei define *tsien tsien* as = 'artful talk'. The word (**dz'ian*) is probably etym. id. with 44 (**dz'ian*) 'shallow' (ex. in Shi) and means 'shallow' in the sense of 'insincere, insinuating'. Of the remaining 3 words: *shan tsing yen* 45, *tsing* has several variants and definitions. Ho Hiu defines 46 as = 47 'concocted' (words); but there is no support for this. Shuowen defines it as = 'quiet', and it is merely a variant of the word 48, 49. In fact, our line is quoted with 48 by Wang Yi: comm. on Ch'u, Kiu t'an and in Ts'ien fu lun: Kiu pien; and with 49 by the same Wang Yi in comm. on Kiu pien; for *tsing yen* «(quiet =) smooth words», a standing phrase already occurring in Yao tien, see Gl. 1235. Thus: «The (shallow =) insincere ones, who are good at (quiet =) smooth speeches». — The A version, however, was known long before PK'ung, for Shuowen quotes it (under 50). The curious *tsie tsie* 51 (**dz'iat*) was expl. as = 52 (**ts'at*) 'discerning' i. e. 'clever' by PK'ung, a wholly unconvincing phonetic speculation. Ma Jung tried to preserve the fundamental sense of *tsie* 53 'to cut': *tsie tsie*

would mean 'cut down' = 'short and to the point, terse'; and *pien* would mean (equal to 54) 55 'brief'; thus: »The terse(-speaking) and brief ones». This is exceedingly unlikely, all the more since *pien* 50 is evidently the same word-stem as the 56 in Lun: *Ki shī* 57 »friendship with the glib-tongued», which Shuowen quotes 58, and same word as 59 (50, 59 all **b'ian* rising tone, 56 **b'ian* even tone). Ts'ai Ch'en, on the other hand, says that *tsie tsie* means 'glib-tongued', which is a mere guess from the context, without support. The expl. is in fact quite different. Tsien 42 was **dz'ian* and *tsie* 53 was **dz'iat*. The latter is only a phonetic way of writing a word **dz'iat* which is another aspect of the same word-stem **dz'ian* 'shallow, insincere'. An alternation -*n*: -*t* in a stem is common (60 **n'ian* 'to burn': 61 **n'iat* 'hot' etc.). Thus the A text means the same as the B text, a **dz'iat* 53 'insincere' having been substituted to the (cognate) **dz'ian* 42 'insincere', and a **b'ian* 50 'glib-tongued speeches' to the practically synonymous 46 'smooth speeches'.

2110. *Pei kün tsī yi ts'ī* 62.

A. This is PK'ung's (Ku-wen) version: »who make the ruler change his words (alter his mind)». — B. The Kin-wen version ap. Kung-yang: Wen 12 reads: *shī kün tsī yi tai* 63 »who cause the ruler to be easy and idle». This version was known to Si-ma Ts'ien, who in San wang shī kia has: 64. — B, the earliest attested version, should be followed. Wang Ming-sheng points out that Shuowen under 65, interchangeable with *ts'ī* 66, has a pre-Han form 67; this would explain why a 68 had been corrupted into 66 (we should express it thus: the original graph was 69 without radical, wrongly filled out by some Han scholars into 67 = 66 inst. of into 68).

Wo huang to yu chī see Gl. 1850.

2111. *Mei mei wo sī chī* 70.

A. PK'ung connects this with the preceding: »(it was because) I obscurely thought about it», i. e. I had bad counsellors because I did not see clearly. — B. Ts'ai Ch'en: »(Darkly =) deeply I ponder it». This is undoubtedly right in the main, but it does not sufficiently bring out the force of *mei* 'obscure', and Kiang Sheng improves the interpr. accordingly: »Very (obscured =) bewildered I ponder it». — C. Wang K'ai-yün: *mei* 71 (**muád*) is equal to 72 (**muót*) and this means 73: »Energetically I ponder it». Very far-fetched.

2112. *Ju yu yī kie ch'en* 74.

A. This is PK'ung's version, already so quoted in Kung-yang: Wen 12. Ma Jung defines 75 (**kād* / *kāi* / *kie*) by 76, which again in itself is somewhat ambiguous. Legge and Couvreur render *kie* by 'resolute', but Ma's *keng kie* 75, when occurring in Ch'u: Kiu pien, is defined by Wang Yi as = 'straight' (which was Ma's idea, since he adds 77 »the whole heart upright and loyal»); when in Li sao, by the same Wang Yi as = 78 »bright and great». In fact *kie* 79 is not safely attested in the sense of 'straight' (still less of 'resolute') but very well in the sense of 'great'. Our line could thus mean: »If I had one great servant». On the other hand, *kie* 79 is well attested in the sense of 'to assist',

記之子²⁷就²⁸若之何其²⁹番番良士³⁰番³¹古之人謀黃髮番番³²磻³³允允勇夫³⁴
訖訖勇夫³⁵訖訖³⁶無所省錄之貌³⁶允³⁷允³⁸惟截截善論言³⁹維謚謚善諄言⁴⁰謚
謚⁴¹謚⁴²謚⁴³是謚謚者⁴⁴儻⁴⁵善諄言⁴⁶諄⁴⁷諄⁴⁸諄⁴⁹諄⁵⁰諄⁵¹截截⁵²察察⁵³
截⁵⁴偏⁵⁵少⁵⁶便⁵⁷友便佞⁵⁸友諂佞⁵⁹辨辨⁶⁰然⁶¹然⁶²俾君子易辭⁶³使君子易色⁶⁴
俾君子色⁶⁵辭⁶⁶辭⁶⁷辭⁶⁸息⁶⁹台⁷⁰昧昧我思之⁷¹昧⁷²沒⁷³勉⁷⁴如有一介臣⁷⁵

and that would give an even better meaning here: »If I had an assisting servant«. But a third possibility is after all preferable, see B next. — B. Li: Ta hüe quotes our line: j o y u y i k o c h ' e n 80. J o 81 here is correct, against the j u 82 of A as wrong, since »if« is always j o, never j u in the Shu. This makes us inclined to take the Li quotation as the superior version. 83 is *kâr / kâ / k o and is well confirmed by texts in the sense of 'item, piece', e. g. Kyü: Ts'i yü 84 »deer-skins, 4 piece«, and 'individual', when referring to a man: Tso: Chao 3, phr. 85 »Again it has been weakened through (the loss of) one (man)« (Shiwen: *kâr / kâ / k o). Thus here: »If I had one single servant«. Now the k i e 79 of A is attested in precisely the same sense: Tso: Siang 8, phr. 86 »He has not sent one single messenger«; Kyü: Wu yü 87 »one first-rank son«. Obviously the A version should thus mean the same as B: »If I had one single servant«. It is, of course, a very suspicious fact that two different words: *kâr and *kâd, the graphs for which are so exceedingly similar: 83 and 79, should both mean 'individual, piece', and it has been a matter for much discussion whether k o 83 is right and k i e 79 simply a corruption (Lu Tê-ming has thought so in the ex. 86, where he says that 79 should be read kâ) or k i e 79 is right and k o 83 only a vulgar corruption. One thing is sure: 83 *kâr / kâ / k o in this sense has this in its favour that it still exists in the same sense in modern Mandarin.

2113. T u a n t u a n y i 88.

For y i 89 Li: Ta hüe quotes h i 90, both being empty particles.

A. Ho Hiu (in comm. on Kung-yang) defines t u a n t u a n by 91 'single-minded, wholly devoted', and Cheng Hün says 92 'sincerely single-minded', Kuang-ya likewise saying t u a n t u a n = 93; K'ung Ying-ta paraphrases it by 94 'maintaining the goodness'. It would seem that these authors took 95 *tuan to be a loan char. for (or possibly a word cognate to) 96 *tiwan 'entirely bent on'. If so, it is a poor speculation. — B. T u a n 95 is very common in the sense of 'to decide', and it should therefore here mean a man of decision, 'resolute': »a resolute one«. This obviates all need of any loan speculation.

2114. K ' i s i n h i u h i u y e n 97.

A. Cheng Hün defines h i u h i u 98 as = 99 'indulgent, generous'. But this is simply through anticipation of the j u n g 100 in the next line. H i u has no such meaning. — B. PK'ung: h i u h i u = 1 'finding his joy in goodness'. No text support. — C. Ho Hiu: h i u h i u = 2 'fine and grand': »His heart is very fine«. This meaning of h i u is common, e. g. Shu: Lü hing 3 »Even if one considers you fine«; Tso: Süan 3, phr. 4 »When the virtue is fine and bright«. — D. Ts'ai Ch'en: h i u h i u = 5 'straight and loving goodness', which has caused Legge to translate »plain and sincere«(!). No support whatever.

2115. K ' i j u y u j u n g 6.

A. This is PK'ung's reading, and so it is quoted in Li: Ta hüe: »He seems like having (indulgence =) generosity«. — B. Kung-yang: Wen 12 reads k ' i n e n g y u j u n g 7: »Then he can have (indulgence =) generosity«. — B gives better sense and tallies better with the following 8.

2116. J e n c h i y e n s h e n g 9.

A. This is the reading both in PK'ung and in Li: Ta hüe: »When other men are fine and sage«. — B. Cheng Hün in comm. on Ta hüe says that another version instead of y e n 10 had p ' a n 11. This is too uncertain to be relied on.

Shi n e n g j u n g c h i see Gl. 1569. L i m i n y i c h i y u l i t s a i see Gl. 286.

2117. M a o t s i y i w u c h i 12.

A. PK'ung: »If he (covers =) obstructs and detests and hates them«. — B. In Li: Ta hüe the line is quoted 13, this m a o 14 by Cheng Hün defined as = »jealous': »If he is jealous and resentful [and hates them]«. M a o 14 is not known from any other pre-Han

text but it was largely current in Han time (already in Shī ki). — C. Wang Nien-sun: if wu 15 has its ordinary sense of 'to hate', it is a pleonasm here after tsi 16. Therefore it should be emendated into wu 17, which Shuowen records and defines as = 18 'to vilify each other'. But this is a dictionary word, unknown in texts.

2118. Pang chī wu nie.... pang chī jung huai 19.

Pan Ku defines nie 20 as = 21 'not safe' (Hü Shen = 22 'danger'), and PK'ung and following commentators have applied this 21 'not safe' to the binome wu-nie 23 (*ngwat-ngiet). We have the same binome inverted wr. 24 (*ngiet-ngwat) in Yi:Kua 47. 25 properly means 'a tree trunk without branches' acc. to Ts'ie yün (though only known as part of the name T'ao-wu 26, a monster, Tso: Wen 18); Legge concludes that this gives the idea of 'sterility', hence: unprosperous. Wang Ming-sheng believes that since Shuowen writes 27, and its 28 is defined as = 'rock covered with earth', wu means 'precipitous' and hence 'danger'. But evidently 25 and 28 are here mere graphical variants for 29 *ngwat / ngwat / wu 'to shake', well-known from Ode 192. Wu-nie »Shaking and danger« is thus practically a binome of synonyms: »Peril«. — In jung huai 30 PK'ung as usual says 31 = 32 (refuted in Gl. 110 a, cf. Gl. 2087). »The state's glory (with which the people) joins up«. Ts'ai Ch'en again, as in the phr. 33 (see Gl. 2087), says huai = 34, based on an erroneous Shī gloss of Cheng Hüan's. Huai never means 'peace, tranquillity'. Here, as in Gl. 2087, it must mean 'cherishing, love, devotion'.

2119. Yü e yu yi jen 35.

Yü e 36 is merely the initial particle.

A. PK'ung and most later comm. believe that yi jen refers to the excellent minister (servant) just described: »(The state's peril) arises from one single man (the leading minister)«. — B. Sun Sing-yen: the king speaks of himself: »(The state's peril) arises from the One Man (the sovereign)« (sc. if he does not well select his coadjutors). Since yi jen 37 regularly has this meaning in the Shu, this should be followed. For a parallel definitely confirming this see Gl. 2120 C below.

2120. Yi shang yi jen chī k'ing 38.

A. PK'ung takes shang 39 as the common adverb = 40 'perchance': »(The state's glory) also perchance is (due to) the goodness of one man« (sc. good minister)«. — B. Wang Yin-chi, foll. by Sun Sing-yen: shang 39 is defined as = 41 by Kao Yu in comm. on Huai: Lan ming. This is the meaning here: »It (has for principal thing =) wholly depends upon one man's goodness«. Since a few lines earlier PK'ung's text read 42, but the Li: Ta hüe text read 43, and some comm. have defined chī 44 as = 41, Wang finds an additional support for his theory in this. But, as already recognized by Yen

介 76 取介 77 一心端慤 78 光大 79 介 80 若有一个臣 81 若 82 如 83 个 84 虎皮四个 85 又弱一个 86 不使一介行李 87 一介嫡男 88 斷斷猗 89 猗 90 兮 91 尊一 92 誠一 93 誠 94 守善 95 斷 96 專 97 其心休休焉 98 休 99 寬容 100 容 1 樂善 2 美大 3 雖休 4 德之休明 5 易直好善 6 其如有容 7 其能有容 8 是能容之 9 人之彥聖 10 彥 11 盤 12 冒疾以惡之 13 媼疾以惡之 14 媼 15 惡 16 疾 17 誣 18 相毀 19 邦之杌隤... 邦之榮懷 20 隤 21 不安 22 危 23 杌隤 24 號(岬) 25 杌 26 樛杌 27 阮隤 28 阮 29 抗 30 榮懷 31 懷 32 歸 33 懷在位 34 安 35 曰由一人 36 曰 37 一人 38 亦尚一人之慶 39 尚 40 庶幾 41 主 42 亦職有利 43 亦尚有利 44 職 45 掌 46 猶 47 還 48 慶 49 善 50 一人有慶兆民賴之

Shī-ku (K'uang miu cheng su 5; repeated by Wang's father Wang Nien-sun in Kuang ya su cheng), the definition 39 = 41 for the phr. in Huai and various similar Han texts simply means that s h a n g 39 here is a short-form for c h a n g 45 'to manage' (expl. by 41 'to be the master of, preside over'), and this is not at all applicable here. Moreover, the gloss c h ī 44 = 41 cannot be upheld (see our Gl. 286), so that this support is eliminated. — C. Just as in the earlier line c h ī 44 'only' and s h a n g 39 'perchance, hof-fentlich' are adverbs, so our s h a n g 39 here is sure enough an adverb, but not, with A, = 40 but in its exceedingly common meaning of 46 'still, encore' (= Mand. 47). On the other hand, k 'i n g 48 does not mean 'goodness, excellence'. It is true that it is defined as = s h a n 49 in various comm. on early texts, but s h a n then always means 'what is good, happiness, blessing'. And that this is the meaning here as well is proved by a close par. in Lü hing: 50 »(I), the One Man, shall enjoy happiness, and the million people will receive the advantage of it». This par. clearly confirms that y i j e n »the One Man» who has the k 'i n g is not a good minister but the sovereign himself, who selects the minister. Thus we obtain here: »(The state's peril comes from the One Man); the state's prosperity and (cherishing =) devotion (still =) likewise is the One Man's (felicity =) success».



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